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MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN  
HEYE FOUNDATION  
Vol. VII, No. 4

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TIZOC  
GREAT LORD OF THE AZTECS  
1481-1486

BY  
MARSHALL H. SAVILLE

NEW YORK  
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN  
HEYE FOUNDATION  
1929









GOLDEN STATUETTE OF TIZOC, FRONT VIEW. (16/5280)

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## FOREWORD

The account of Tizoc, to which the accompanying memoir is devoted, is the direct result of the gift to this Museum by Mrs. Thea Heye, wife of the Director, of the gold statuette representing that Aztec personage. The publication itself has been made possible by the generosity of the late Harmon Washington Hendricks, for many years vice-president of the Board of Trustees of the Museum.

GEORGE G. HEYE  
*Director*



# TIZOC, GREAT LORD OF THE AZTECS

1481-1486

BY

MARSHALL H. SAVILLE

## INTRODUCTION

**L**ITTLE information of real historical value in regard to the succession of dominant Nahuatl people in the Valley of Mexico has been preserved. Even of the latest branch of this stock, the Aztecs, there is some confusion with respect to the date of the founding of Tenochtitlan, their capital, as well as to the years of the reigns of the nine "kings" who successively occupied the Mexican throne to the coming of the Spaniards in 1519. The recorded information respecting their achievements, their personal characteristics, and often the manner of their death, is at times contradictory; hence it is difficult to reconcile the statements contained in the native records (codices) and in the accounts by Indian and Spanish historians. If we have these difficulties to contend with in studying the comparatively late events of the brief domination of the Aztecs covering two scant centuries, the problem will be seen to be far more baffling if we attempt to reconstruct the history of pre-Aztec times through the centuries falling within the period of Toltec ascendancy—the true golden age of the Nahuatl people of the Mexican plateau.

When we undertake to study the mythical and legendary accounts purporting to relate the history of this region of America, we enter a field so encumbered with contradictions that the task of illumining the problem seems almost hopeless, owing in large measure to the lack of precise information recorded by early chroniclers. Indeed, in these writings the accounts concerning Mexican rulers or national heroes are so involved that, as we have stated, it seems almost impossible to obtain a connected narrative respecting the lives and achievements of the Aztec kings. We possess a welter of disconnected independent accounts regarding the conquests and the outstanding successes of such well-known personages as Axayacatl,

Tizoc, and Ahuitzotl, the three rulers immediately preceding the unfortunate second Montezuma, all of which are interwoven with accounts of the achievements of other rulers in the Valley of Mexico. If the information regarding these late personages is so conflicting, much more so is that which we gather from the chronicles concerning their culture heroes, such as Quetzalcoatl. In fact, early Mexican history is a maze of oral tradition from which it is almost impossible to extract more than a mere outline of probabilities. Each group of the Nahuan family, including the later dominant Aztecs, possessed a wealth of local history interwoven with that of a more national character; but this latter feature seems to have been held together by a very slender thread, so far as community of interest is concerned.<sup>1</sup>

Bandelier has given a true estimate of the difficulties involved in investigations pertaining to the history of ancient Mexico before the coming of the Spaniards. He writes:

Not only the history of ancient Mexico, but the true condition and degree of culture of its aboriginal inhabitants, are yet but imperfectly known. Nearly all architectural remains have disappeared; the descendants of the former aborigines have modified their plan of life, and we are almost exclusively reduced, for our knowledge of Mexican antiquities, to the printed and written testimony of those who saw Indian society at Mexico either at the time of, or not too long after, its downfall. But these authors, whether eye-witnesses of the conquest, like Cortes, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Andres de Tapia, and others; or missionaries sent to New Spain at an early date,—as Toribio of Benavente (Motolinia), Sahagun, or (towards the close of the 16th century, or beginning of the 17th century) Acosta, Davila, Mendieta and Torquemada,—they are sometimes, on many questions, in direct opposition to each other. Thus the uncertainty is still increased, and the most difficult critical labor heaped upon the student. Furthermore, to magnify the task, we are placed in presence of several Indian writers of the 16th and 17th centuries (like Duran, Tezozomoc, and Ixtlilxochitl), who disagree with each other on the most important questions, quite as much as the Spanish authors themselves. It may appear presumptuous, while knowing of the existence of such difficulties, to attempt the description of even a single feature of life of Mexico's former Indian society.<sup>2</sup>

It may be stated at the outset that the use of the term "king" is inappropriate in connection with the rulers of Mexico, or indeed of any part of aboriginal America. Among the Aztecs the term used was *tlatoani*, defined as meaning great or chief lord, or overlord or

speaker. The Haitian word *cacique* was extensively used by early chroniclers to designate the priest-chiefs of the mainland throughout America, and it has been incorporated into the Castilian language with this significance. The word *tlatoani*, referring to Mexican "chief lords," is much to be preferred, as it more nearly expresses the true function of a ruler in this part of ancient America. Usage is so strong, however, that it has become customary to use the term "king," as was done by the early English writers on the American colonies; but there were never kings or emperors in America, in the sense in which those terms were used in the Old World. Similarly misleading is the term "empire" which has come into general usage to designate the native governments of ancient Middle and South America.

Authority for the use of the word *tlatoani* is found in a valuable anonymous relation on the origin of the Mexicans, preserved in the *Libro de Oro* in the library of the late Joaquín García Icazbalceta. In this account we find the statement, "They had, however, among them, a method of recognition of the lord or chief, after a similar manner of paterfamilias, whom they held in esteem and rendered submission to, and they gave him the name of lord (*señor*), that is *tlatoani*, and in their language he was so called." <sup>3</sup>

#### THE FOUNDING OF TENOCHTITLAN AND THE ERECTION OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF HUITZILOPOCHTLI

It may be well, at this juncture, to state that a number of codices and early chronicles are extant which record the succession of events in early Mexican history, correlated with the dates as recorded in the system of picture-writing developed by the Nahuatl people. Knowing accurately the glyphic date of the advent of Cortés in Mexico in 1519, namely, 1 *acatl*, we can work backward with certainty to the year 1324, which is 1 *tecpatl*.

There is considerable discrepancy in the accounts, both inscribed and glyphic, as to the actual date of the first settlement or founding of Tenochtitlan. First, we must call attention to the system of glyphs employed by the Aztecs to designate the passing of years. Four characters were selected from the signs of the twenty-day month of their calendar to be year-bearers in the chronological counts. By recording these four signs in sequence, namely, *tochtli* (rabbit), *acatl* (reed), *tecpatl* (flint), and *calli* (house), and numbering them

with accompanying dots from one to thirteen, the same number would not occur in association with the same sign until fifty-two years, the Aztec "century," had elapsed.

In the Codex de 1576<sup>4</sup> we find (page 32) four squares with the year-bearer signs representing dates connected with the founding of Tenochtitlan. The first is *ce tecpatl* (1 flint), the year 1324. Accompanying it is an inscription in the Nahuatl language: "1 *tecpatl*, the Mexicans repaired to Techcatitlan [Tenochtitlan]." The next date is *ome calli*, 2 house, 1325. The explanation is: "*ome calli*, they raised Tenochtli to sovereign dignity." We find below the date the chief with the glyph, a cactus rising from a stone, expressing the name Tenochtli, the combination being, *tell*, stone, and *nochtli*, cactus.

The long strip of native paper known as the Map of Tepechpan<sup>5</sup> is stated by Boturini, its former possessor, to "represent the procession of Chichimecan and Mexican kings and events that befell the two monarchies. This history begins from the year represented by 3 *tecpatl* (1298), and ends with 7 *tochtli* (1596)." Above the date 1 *tecpatl* (1324) is depicted a king with the caption, in the Nahuatl language, "*Ychichimecatl ix xiquauhli*," and back of the personage is the glyph for the place Culhuacan, presumed to be the ancient name of Tezcoco.

But the most important account of the beginnings of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital, so pertinent to our study, is contained in the Codex Mendoza, which states:

In the year 1324 the Mexican people first arrived at the place called the City of Mexico. The locality pleased them after their journeying for many years from place to place, sometimes stopping a number of years in the course of their travels. Not being content, however, with the places where they had stopped, they continued until they finally came to the site of Mexico, at a time when it was a complete marsh, overgrown with briars, and rushes called *tule*, and full of very tall flags, reed grass, making it resemble a thicket. Throughout the area of the place there flowed a spring and stream of clear water which was free from sedges and bushes, which stream also went through it crosswise like the cross of Saint Andrew as shown in the picture. And in about the middle of the place of the stream of water, the Mexicans found a great rock, and growing on it was a great reed or bush called *tunal*, upon which a great eagle had her abode and place for food, as shown by the scattered bones and feathers of various birds, and fowl of divers colors. After exploring the country in all directions they found it fertile, supplied with ample game, birds, and

fish, and likewise those products found in swampy lands upon which they could sustain themselves; and they felt that it also afforded them a means of livelihood through trade with the neighboring pueblos. The security afforded by the water, which their neighbors could under no circumstances ever cut off, together with other motives and reasons, induced them to go no farther in their travels. Having therefore made up their minds upon this point, they strengthened their position by utilizing the waters and clumps of *tule* and reed grass for their walls and bulwarks. Having thus laid the foundation for their settlement and nation, they decided to give a name to the place, calling it Tenochtitlan, on account of the *tunal* growing on the stone, for Tenochtitlan, interpreted in the Castilian language, means, the *tunal* growing upon a rock.<sup>6</sup>

In this relation, strange to say, we find no mention of the beginning of the temple to Huitzilopochtli, the patron deity of the Aztecs, but this event is recorded in other chronicles.

In the Annals of Chimalpahin is the statement that in the year 2 *acatl* (1325) the Mexicans-Chichimecas established themselves in the lagoon of Tenochtitlan.<sup>7</sup> According to the anonymous *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas*, "the second year after the founding of Mexico [this would be in 1327] the Mexicans began to lay the foundations for a large and augmented temple of Uchillogos [Huitzilopochtli]. This temple increased in size constantly, for each of the rulers who from that time on held sway in Mexico added to it a wall as broad as the preceding one erected by the earlier inhabitants. Thus the Spaniards found a very high, strong, and broad building, grand to behold at that time."<sup>8</sup>

The most interesting and important relation of the beginnings of the first temple to be erected to the god Huitzilopochtli by the Aztecs, after they had finally arrived at the swamp in the Valley of Mexico and had determined on the site for a permanent settlement, is contained in the *Codex Ramírez*. It must be remembered that at this time there were other cities which had been long occupied on all of the available sites in the neighborhood, and their inhabitants were not at all friendly to the invading tribe seeking to settle in the vicinity of the lake; hence the Mexicans had to content themselves with the least desirable locality within the shallower confines of the lagoon. Their efforts to establish themselves here are vividly described. Their first thought was to build a home for their patron god. They decided, as the account relates, since they could not just then erect a temple of stone, to build one of turf with mud walls,

until they might be able to enlarge it. So they commenced at once to cut out pieces of sod, as thick as they possibly could, from among the reeds, so as to make a square plot for the foundation of the structure.

In this they built a small, poor niche, like a shrine, covered with straw obtained from the same lagoon, not being able to get anything else, since they could not go farther because they were living in a strange place and on foreign soil, on land lying within the confines of Azcaputzalco and Tetzcuco, for that was the boundary line between the two. They (the Mexicans) were so poor, so hedged in, and so fearful that even this little structure they had erected to their god (would be destroyed), that they built it with great fear and trepidation.

[Then] on one occasion, when all were assembled in council, some there were who were in favor of going, in all humility, to the people of Azcaputzalco and to the Tepanecans, who are the people of Tacuba and Cuyuhuacan [Coyoacán], to present themselves as friends, and to express their willingness to put themselves under subjection (to the latter people), and to ask them for stone and wood for the building of their city. However, the majority were of the contrary opinion, for besides being too degrading, they would be taking the risk of being received badly, of even being abused and maltreated, and that a better method would be to go to the pueblos and cities around the lagoon on market days, they and their wives carrying fish and frogs and all kinds of beetles found in the water, as well as the waterfowl which abounded in the lagoon (and selling these); they could then purchase the stone and the wood needed for building their city. This they could then do freely without recognizing anyone as superior to themselves or subjecting themselves to anyone; since, after all, their god had given them this site.

This seemed to all the best method, so they put it into execution. Going among the canebrakes, the reeds, and the rushes of the lagoon, they caught a large number of fish, frogs, and shrimps and other crustaceans, capturing likewise many ducks, geese, pigeons, cormorants, and other kinds of waterfowl; and waiting for the market days, they sallied forth, disguised as hunters and fishermen, and bartered what they had for wooden building-blocks, small planks, wood, lime, and stone. And although the wood and stone were small, nevertheless they began to build the temple of their god with them as best they could, covering it with wood and putting on the outside, above the earthen walls, a coating of mixed pebbles and lime; and small and poor as the structure was, it obtained in this way a certain splendor and elegance. Soon they began to lay out, step by step, the foundation and plan of the city on the waters, sinking many stakes (into the water) and filling the spaces between these stakes with earth and stone.<sup>9</sup>

In this poverty-stricken and humble way was commenced the gigantic complex of structures forming the great temple of Tenochtitlan (Mexico), which met the astonished eyes of the Spaniards when they entered the capital of Montezuma in 1519.

In the *Historia de Mexico por sus Pinturas* it is stated that the king Itzcoatl died and Montezuma the Elder ascended the throne on the one hundred and eighteenth year after the Mexicans had first settled on the site of Tenochtitlan as their permanent seat. This, according to the now accepted chronology, was in the year 1440. The *Historia* proceeds to state that "in the year one hundred and twenty-five after the foundation of the City of Mexico [Tenochtitlan], the temple structure to Uchillogos [Huitzilopochtli] was renovated."<sup>10</sup> This would make the date of the beginning of the first enlargement and renovation of the temple in the year 1447, which date, according to the Mexican calendar, fell on their year 7 *acatl*. In the *Codex Ramírez* we find this interesting statement concerning the activities of Montezuma the Elder in building the temple to the god Huitzilopochtli.

Seeing how great was the prosperity of Mexico, (Montezuma) decided to build a very sumptuous temple for his god Huitzilopochtli, and for that purpose he convoked all the people of his kingdom and told them of his intention. Then he planned the temple and assigned to every province the quota (of material and work) it was to furnish. In a short time everything was assembled, and because of the large amount of material at hand and the large number of people (working at it), it was completed in a short time. So desirous was the emperor of distinguishing himself in the building of this temple that into the cement holding the stones together it is affirmed many jewels and precious stones were thrown.<sup>11</sup> Upon the completion of the temple even greater feasts than those given at the coronation took place. Numerous captives that this valorous king had brought home were sacrificed and great wealth was donated to the temple, as was consistent with the importance of so great a temple.<sup>12</sup>

In the *Anales de Chimalpahin* we find also that Itzcoatl died in 1440, and "immediately after, in the same year, his nephew Montezuma the Elder was installed."<sup>13</sup> But in the same chronicle the statement is made that in the year 6 *tochtli* (1446), Montezuma demanded of the Chalchacs that "they should bring stones for the temple, for the Mexicans were going to raise a temple to their god Huitzilopochtli at Tepehualpan." Here we have the statement

that one year before the plan to erect the enlarged temple in Tenochtitlan was promulgated, Montezuma gave orders for material to be assembled for the building of a temple at Tepehualpan. Again in the same chronicle it is said that twenty-one years later, in the year 1 *acatl* (1467), "the work on the construction of the temple of Huitzilopochtli, which the Mexica-Tenochas were erecting, was begun again." This directly contradicts the statement in the Codex Ramírez that the work was speedily finished. It also gives the date of the death of Montezuma the Elder as the year 1468, and states that his successor Axayacatl was crowned in the following year. This is correct so far as the latter event is concerned, but the statement does not follow the other authorities in placing Montezuma's death in 1469. We know that the Mexicans selected a new ruler and inducted him into office after coronation with the least possible delay.

Finally, it seems, there arose the need for a still larger and more grandiose temple to the great god, and we find that in the year 1483, while Tizoc, the seventh *tlatoani*, was in power, "the first stone was placed in the great *cu* (temple), which the Christians found when they came to the land."<sup>14</sup> This work was not completed during Tizoc's reign, but was finished four years after its commencement, in the year 1487, by Tizoc's successor, Ahuitzotl. The Codex Telleriano-Remensis, which gives us the notice regarding the enlargement of the temple under Tizoc, states, "In the year 1487, according to our count, they finished the work of improvement on the great *cu* of Mexico."<sup>15</sup>

### THE TLATOANI, GREAT LORDS OF THE AZTECS

NOT long after the founding of Tenochtitlan the Mexicans began to formulate plans for a compact social organization which ultimately culminated in a confederacy, the so-called Aztec empire with its succession of *tlatoani*, or chief lords. The Codex Ramírez records the legendary impetus for this procedure:

After they had finished repairing their temple, as has been described, and after they had filled a large part of the lagoon with piles which were to serve as the foundations of the city (to be built upon them), Huitzilopochtli spoke to one of his priests and ministers in the following manner: "Tell the Mexican assemblage that their chiefs should divide them, according to their relationship to one another or according to whether they are friends or allies, into four principal *barrios* (wards), putting into

the middle of each barrio the house they have erected for my repose, and each division should erect its own shrine in its barrio as he sees fit. These are the barrios that exist to the present day in the City of Mexico and which are now called San Pablo, San Juan, Santa Maria la Redonda, and San Sebastian. After the Mexicans had divided themselves into these four barrios, their god Huitzilopochtli ordered them to distribute the gods he had designated for them, and each principal barrio of the four might name and designate other special barrios, where their gods might be revered. Thus each of the four special barrios was subdivided into many smaller ones, depending on the number of idols which their god had made them worship, and to these they applied the name *calpultetes*, which means gods-of-the-barrios. Although this division was made with the consent of their dioceses and idols, some of the old men and patriarchs, feeling that they had not been given the honor they deserved in the division of the places, as people aggrieved, mutinied, and together with their relatives and friends went to seek a new place. Wandering about the lagoon they finally found an enclosure or terrace which they called *tlatelolli*, where they settled and to which they gave the name Tlatelulco, which means place-of-the-terrace.<sup>16</sup>

Thereupon the people of Tenochtitlan formed a council and selected a chief to consider the new menace which had arisen. They feared that the Tlatelulcans might elect a king of their own and make efforts to become the leaders of both factions. As related in the Codex Ramírez, and acting promptly, these proposals were made after due consultation:

Let us elect a king who shall hold sway both over the Tlatelulcos and ourselves, and thus shall be prevented any annoyances and surprises that might otherwise follow. If not from our midst, let us go outside, to Azcaputzalco (to select one), which is near and in whose territory we are living; or let him be from Culhuacan or from the Province of Tetzcuco. Then they recalled to their minds the fact that the Mexicans were related to the people of Culhuacan and that they had sons and daughters among the latter. The chiefs and the others therefore determined to elect as king a youth named Acamapichtli, son of a great Mexican leader and a noble woman, the King of Culhuacan. Having made their selection, they decided to send and petition the King of Culhuacan, whose grandson Acamapichtli was. . . . Thus was elected the first king of Mexico, who, as we have said, was named Acamapichtli, which means, reed-in-hand, from *acatl*, reed or cane, and *mapiqui*, to close the palm of one's hand and make a fist.<sup>17</sup>

The date of the election of Acamapichtli, recorded in several codices, was 13 *acatl* (1375), just fifty-one years after the founding of the city of Tenochtitlan. Among the various discrepant dates given for the accession of the first Aztecan lord to the throne, the *Historia de Mexico por sus Pinturas* places the event in the year 1378, or fifty-three years after the founding of the city. In the *Codex Mendoza*, the English translation of the Spanish text as contained in Purchas, the date of the accession of Acamapichtli is given as 1377. In the edition of Kingsborough the year is 1370. In the French translation published in 1672 by Thevenot the date is correctly given as 1375. The errors of both Purchas and Kingsborough are due to a misreading of the Spanish text in the manuscript now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Thanks to the facsimile edition now in the hands of students, prepared by Paso y Troncoso for the Mexican government, we are able to determine that the reason for this inaccuracy lies in the fact that the word *siete* was originally written and then deleted, and the word *cinco* inserted over it, the writing being much blurred. In the *Anales de Chimalpahin* the date is entirely out of reason, as it states that in the year 5 *acatl* (1367), Acamapichtli the Younger came to the throne "as the first sovereign of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, and he established the monarchy in the lagoon." Still farther away from the truth is the statement in the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* that "in the year 11 *acatl*, according to their computation, and 1399 A.D. according to ours, the Mexicans elected Acamapichtli." Finally, another chronicler places the year as 1383.<sup>18</sup>

Having made the correction in the account in the *Codex Mendoza* of the year of Acamapichtli's succession to the throne in 1375, we may follow both this authority and that of Sahagun in determining the actual years of sovereignty of the nine *tlatoanis*, or chief lords, of the Aztecs, terminating in the death of Montezuma the Younger in 1520. ¶

We present a translation from the work of Sahagun (chap. 1, book 8) relating to the subject:

Chapter I. *Of the Lords and Governors who Reigned in Mexico from the Beginning of the Kingdom until the Year 1560.*

*Acamapich* was the first lord of Mexico, Tenuchtitlan; he held the dominion twenty-one years in peace and quietude, and there were no wars during his time.

*Vitzilivitl* was the second lord of Tenuchtitlan; he held the dominion

twenty-one years, and commenced the wars, and fought with those of Culhuacan.

*Chimalpopoca* was the third lord of Tenuchtitlan, and was lord for ten years.

*Itzcoatzin* was the fourth lord of Tenuchtitlan, and ruled for fourteen years; he subjugated those of Atzcapotzalco and of Xuchimilco.

*Mothecuzoma* the first was the fifth lord of Tenuchtitlan, and he governed those of Mexico for thirty years. He also made wars in the province of Chalco, and against those of Quauhnaoac, and against all those subject to this said headquarters, and against those of Quauhtemalan. During his time there was a great famine for the space of four years, and they say *nocetochviloe*, by reason of which those of Mexico and of Tepaneca and Aculhuacan scattered to other parts in search (of means) of life.

*Axayácatl* was the sixth lord of Tenuchtitlan, Mexico, and ruled fourteen years, and in his time there was war between those of Tenuchtitlan and Tlatilulco, and those of Tlatilulco lost their dominion, by reason of the victory of those of Mexico, and so the people of Tlatilulco had no lord for the space of forty-six years, and he who then became lord of Tlatilulco was called Moquivitztlí, and the said Axayácatl gained and conquered these kingdoms and provinces: Tlacotepec, Cozcaquahtenco, Callimaya, Metepec, Caliztlaocaca, Ecatepec, Teultenanco, Malinalte-nanco, Tzinacantepec, Coatepec, Cuitlapilco, Teuzaoalco, Tecualoya, Ocuillan.<sup>19</sup>

*Tizocicatzin* was the seventh lord of Tenuchtitlan, and he was lord four years, and had no war during his time.

*Ahuítzotl* was the eighth lord of Tenuchtitlan, and ruled during eighteen years' time; in his time the city of Mexico was inundated, because he ordered that five fountains should be opened which are in the limits of the towns of Coioacan and of Vitzilopucho [today Churubusco], and the fountains had these names, *acuecuexcatl*, *tlilatl*, *vitzilatl*, *xóchcatl*, and this happened four years before the death of the said Ahuítzotl (1498) and twenty-two years before the coming of the Spaniards. And also during his time there took place a great eclipse of the sun at mid-day; almost for the space of five hours there was a great darkness, so that the stars appeared, and the people had great fear and said that there would come down from the sky some great monsters called *tzitzimis*, who would devour both men and women. The said Ahuítzotl conquered these provinces: Tziuhcoac, Molanco, Tlapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoatlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconocha, Ayutlan, Mazatlan, Coioacan.

The ninth king of Mexico was Mothecuzoma, second of this name, and he reigned nineteen years, and during his time there was a great famine; during the space of three years it did not rain, by reason of which those of

Mexico scattered to other lands: and during his time there also came to pass another miracle in Mexico. . . .<sup>20</sup>

The corrected list stands, so far as we can judge from the chronicles, codices, and contemporary dates found in various sculptures, which we shall speak of later, as follows:

#### GREAT LORDS OR KINGS OF TENOCHTITLAN, MEXICO

<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Throned</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Reign</i>
1. Acamapichtli . . . . .	13 acatl, 1375	1396	21 years
2. Huitzilhuatl . . . . .	8 tecpatl, 1396	1417	21 years
3. Chimalpopoca . . . . .	3 calli, 1417	1427	10 years
4. Itzcoatl . . . . .	13 acatl, 1427	1440	13 years
5. Montezuma the Elder(1) . . . . .	13 tecpatl, 1440	1469	29 years
6. Axayacatl . . . . .	3 calli, 1469	1481	12 years
7. Tizoc . . . . .	2 calli, 1481	1486	5 years
8. Ahuitzotl . . . . .	7 tochtli, 1486	1502	16 years
9. Montezuma the Younger(11) . . . . .	10 tochtli, 1502	1520	18 years

#### TIZOC, SEVENTH TLATOANI OR GREAT LORD

##### INTRODUCTION

THE seventh great lord, or *tlatoani*, of the Aztec confederacy was Tizoc. His reign was comparatively brief, for he came into power in the year 2 *calli* (1481) and died in the year 7 *tochtli* (1486). In pl. LV and in fig. 5 is the record of the years of Tizoc's reign in the system of glyphs of the Aztec calendar as given in the Codex Mendoza.<sup>21</sup> As interpreted they signify: 2 *calli* (house), 1481; 3 *tochtli* (rabbit), 1482; 4 *acatl* (reed), 1483; 5 *tecpatl* (knife), 1484; 6 *calli* (house), 1485; 7 *tochtli* (rabbit), 1486. Axayacatl, a younger brother of Tizoc, selected in 1469 as the sixth *tlatoani*, died suddenly toward the close of the year 1481. Vetancurt fixes the day of his death as October 21, but on what authority we have been unable to learn.<sup>22</sup> Various other years have been recorded by different chroniclers as the date of Axayacatl's death, but the year 1481 is that given by the Mapa de Tepechpan, the Anales de Cuauhtitlan,<sup>23</sup> by Ixtlilxochitl,<sup>24</sup> and by others worthy of credence; and, moreover, this date appears on the gold statuette of Tizoc, which we shall consider later. Hence we may be confident that this is the true date of the death of Axayacatl and of the succession of Tizoc to the throne. Vetancurt writes that Tizoc became ruler on October 30, 1481.

Immediately on the death of Axayacatl, and on the conclusion of the funeral ceremonies, a council was held to select his successor. The choice fell on his elder brother, Tizoc, chief of the army. We possess various statements concerning the manner of choosing a *tlatoani*, but the fullest account is that of Sahagun, which has not before been translated into English. Five chapters are devoted to the qualifications, selection, and coronation of the Aztec kings, so important that we quote here in extenso.

CHAPTER XXX. *Of the Manner they have of Choosing their Lords.*

When a lord or king dies, in order to elect another, they bring together the senators called *tecullatoque*, and also the old men of the town called *achcacauhti*, and also the captains who have grown old in warfare and retired, called *iauiquiaoque*, and also the principal active captains in things of war, and also the satraps called *ilenamacazque* or *papaoaque*. All of these come together in the royal houses, and deliberate and determine who shall be lord, and pick out one of the most noble of the lineage of deceased lords, who must be valiant, and skilled in warfare, daring, spirited, and one not in the habit of overindulgence in wine-drinking. One who was prudent, learned, and brought up in the *Cal-mecac*.<sup>25</sup> Who was used to speaking well; one who had understanding, was cautious, and animated. When all or most of them (these qualities) concurred in one, then they at once named him as lord. They did not make this election by an examination or by votes, but all together conferring one with the other, until they finally came to settle on one person. The lord elected or chosen, they then chose four others who were like senators, whose duty it was to be always at the side of the lord, and to take part in all of the important business of the kingdom. These four were in different places given different names, and at the time of the election, many who had a suspicion that they might be selected, hid themselves, so as not to be chosen and take part in the great burden. The five being named, a fortunate day was selected according to their astrology,<sup>26</sup> and on the arrival of that day they were brought out publicly and carried to the house of Vitzilopuchtli [Huitzilopuchtli].

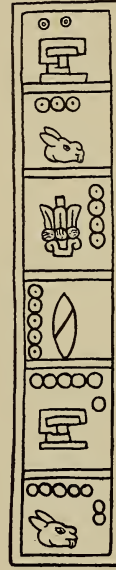


FIG. 5.—Aztec record of Tizoc's reign. (After the Codex Mendoza)

CHAPTER XXXI. *Of How they Fitted Out the Elected Lords with the Penitential Ornaments and Conducted them to the House of Vitzilopuchtli.*

On the arrival of the day determined upon, which, as has been said, was of good fortune, the principal satraps went to look for the lord elect,

and the others, taking them naked to conduct them to the *cu* of Vitzilopuchtli, and before the temple clothing the lord in the robes of distinction, such as the satraps were accustomed to wear when offering incense to the gods. It was a kind of jacket of a dark green, painted with the bones of the dead, and like the *ripil* of the women called *xicolli*. Then they placed on his shoulders a calabash or *picietl*, wild tobacco, montes [*sic*], with some dark green tassels, and they put before the face a green mantle tied to the head, painted with human bones, and in the left hand a bag of copal or white incense; this bag was also of the same material and painted in the same manner. They shod him with dark-green sandals (*cotaras*), and put in the right hand an incense burner like those they were accustomed to use, painted with human skulls, and at the end of the handle hung some paper like tassels. Then he was taken by the satraps up the steps of the *cu*, and came to a place in front of the statue of Vitzilopuchtli, and on arriving there he took the incense and threw it on the live coals in the incense burner and commenced to incense the statue, and while doing this his head was covered by the veil already spoken of. Below were all the people looking on while the new lord incensed, and the ministers of the idols played on the horns and other instruments when the lord was incensing. In the same manner the other elects who were adorned as has been said above, were conducted to the place [in front of the statue] to incense after the lord. The dress with which they were accoutered was black, and the paintings represented human bones.

CHAPTER XXXII. *How the Elected One Did Penance in the Temple, Without Going Out for Four Days.*

After the lord and the elected ones had incensed before the statue of Vitzilopuchtli, then the satraps descended carrying them by the arm in the same order as when they ascended. Then the lord, and he who was the principal one of the others, also in the same order, according to the dignity of his election, were conducted to a house where they had to do penance for four days, in a house called *tlacochcalco*, which was in the courtyard of Vitzilopuchtli; they were there without going out, and fasted all the four days, only eating once a day at midday, and all went to incense and offer blood at midday and at midnight before the statue of Vitzilopuchtli, being carried by the satraps by the arm, and wearing the ornaments above referred to, and in the order announced; and then they returned to their room, and all these four days, at midnight after having incensed and offered blood, they bathed in a pool to do penance, as had always been done by the satraps at every midnight.

CHAPTER XXXIII. *How, when the Penance was Ended, they Carried the Lord to the Royal Palaces, and the Others to their Houses.*

The penance of the four-day period ended, they carried the lord and the four senators to the royal houses, and also the four senators to their own houses. The lord consulted the diviners or astrologers, in order to have indicated a day of good fortune in which to make a feast for his election, which was called *mollatoapaca*, and then sent word to his mayordomos, or *calpizques*, that they should get ready all the featherwork and finery used in the *areitos* (dances), that was needed for the occasion.

CHAPTER XXXIV. *How the Lord Made a Solemn Feast.*

After the day had been named for the festival of election, if the elect was lord of Mexico, he sent his ambassadors to all the outlying kingdoms from Quauhtimalan [Guatemala] to Michoacan: and from sea to sea came the same lords, or sent their presidents to assist at the festival and feast of election. All the invited ones came together some day before the feast. The lord had all ready the featherwork, mantles, loin-cloths, and other jewels to give to the invited ones, to each one according to his rank. In order to enter into the feast and the dance, to all were given featherwork, jewels, and finery for this purpose; at the proper hour [food] was given to all the invited ones, many plates and kinds of stews, and many kinds of very delicate tortillas, and other kinds of *cacaos* (chocolate) in *jicaras* (gourd cups), very rich, and to each one according to his mode. They were also presented with smoke reeds, with many kinds of very precious flowers, and after all this, many rich mantles and precious loin-cloths, to each one according to his rank. And they decorated their room, which was well furnished with the seat which they were accustomed to use, all quite new. Where the principal person was, and all those who had come with him to take part in the feast, they danced by night, and sang with great celerity and show, songs of great solemnity. These lasted a night and a day or two nights and days, or three nights or more. This solemnity ended, the invited ones made their farewells, and returned to their own country.<sup>27</sup>

In the *Memoriales* of Motolinia we find a long account relating to the election and coronation of the *tlatoani*, in Tenochtitlan, or Tezcuco, with the speech made by the high-priest. A strikingly similar account is contained in the work of Gómara.<sup>28</sup> As Gómara never visited Mexico, and as Motolinia came to Mexico in 1523, two years after the conquest, and was among the first twelve priests to emigrate to the new land, we suspect that Gómara must have had at hand a copy of the manuscript of Motolinia, which did not see the

light until 1903, when it was published in Mexico by Luis García Pimental, son of the illustrious historian, Joaquín García Icazbalceta.

The following is a portion of the speech made by the high-priest (*papa mayor*) at the anointment of the newly elected king, as recorded by Motolinía on page 283, cap. 10, entitled, "De las elecciones y confirmaciones de los señores, é que costumbres é leyes cerca de esto guardaban los Indios naturales de la Nueva España."

My Lord, look how you have honored your noblemen and vassals, for you are now confirmed Lord; you must take much care of them and love them like sons. Thou must see that they are not wronged nor that the lesser are treated ill by the greater. Thou must see to that as the lords of the land your vassals are all here with their noblemen, whose father and mother you now are, and as such you must now protect and defend them, and give them justice, because all their eyes are fixed on you. You are the one to direct and give order in matters of war; see to it that you give much care to this; you have to watch carefully in making the sun come to the earth, that is to say in a good sense. Look, Lord, you have to labor that there shall be no lack of blood and food for the sun god, because he must be well treated in his course to supply us with light, and for the goddess of the earth also, because she gives us our sustenance; and look well that you watch over the punishment and death of the wicked, even of the lords, and those disobedient and delinquent, . . .

#### LINEAGE

As in all other matters pertaining to the Aztec rulers, there is much confusion in the relationships of the seven kings. It is clear, however, that although succession was not hereditary, selection was made from what might be called the "royal family." We have arranged in order the succession as given by six authorities, and it may be observed that Tizoc was a descendant of the first great lord Acamapichtli in an almost direct line on the paternal side of the succession of kings, the only break being when Montezuma the Elder is reached. Here we must trust the statement of Ixtlilxochitl, who writes that the three brothers, Axayacatl, Tizoc, and Ahuitzotl, were sons of Tezozomoc (son of Itzcoatl, fourth great lord), who married the legitimate daughter of Montezuma the Elder, Atotzotli by name.<sup>29</sup> Montezuma apparently left no legitimate sons, notwithstanding the statements made by several chroniclers. It is also evident that there was considerable intermarriage between the "royal family" of the Aztecs and similar families of the rulers

## DESCENT OF THE AZTEC LORDS

	<i>Codex Mendoza</i>	<i>Hist. Mex. Pint.</i>	<i>Chimalpahin</i>	<i>Codex Ramírez</i>	<i>Tezozomoc</i>	<i>Ixtlixochitl</i>
ACAMAPICHTLI						
HUITZILHUITL	Son of Acamapichtli	Son of Acamapichtli	Son of Acamapichtli	Son of Acamapichtli	Son of Acamapichtli	Son of Acamapichtli
CHIMALPOPOCA	Son of Huitzilhuil	Son of Huitzilhuil		Son of Huitzilhuil	Son of Huitzilhuil	Son of Huitzilhuil
ITZCOATL	Son of Acamapichtli			Son of Acamapichtli	Son of Huitzilhuil	Son of Huitzilhuil
MONTEZUMA THE ELDER	Son of Huitzilhuil	Nephew of Huitzilhuil	Nephew of Itzcoatl		Grandson of Acamapichtli, brother of Itzcoatl	Grandson of Acamapichtli, nephew of Itzcoatl
AXAYACATL	Grandson of Itzcoatl	Son of Montezuma the Elder	Cousin of Montezuma the Elder	Tizoc ( <i>sic</i> ), son of Monte- zuma the Elder		Grandson of Montezuma the Elder
TIZOC	Brother of Axayacatl	Brother of Axayacatl	Brother of Axayacatl	Axayacatl ( <i>sic</i> ), son of Montezuma the Elder	Nephew of Montezuma the Elder	Brother of Axayacatl
AHUITZOTL	Brother of Tizoc	Brother of Tizoc	Brother of Axayacatl and Tizoc		Son of Montezuma the Elder	Brother of Tizoc
MONTEZUMA THE YOUNGER	Son of Ahuitzotl	Brother of Ahuitzotl			Son of Axayacatl	Son of Axayacatl

of the confederated Nahuatl cities and provinces in the Valley of Mexico. Axayacatl, younger brother of Tizoc and his predecessor on the throne, is said by Ixtlilxochitl to have contracted marriage with the daughter of Nezahualcoyotl, King of Tezcoco, and that Montezuma the Younger was born of this union. Another son was Cuitlahuac, tenth great lord, who succeeded as ruler on the death of Montezuma during the Spanish conquest. His (Axayacatl's) daughter was Tlilalcapatl, mother of the ill-fated Cuauhtemoc, eleventh and last chief lord of the Aztecs,<sup>30</sup> who came to his end through the orders of Cortés. Hence the well-known Montezuma the Younger was a nephew of Tizoc.

#### CORONATION

In the works of Duran<sup>31</sup> and Tezozomoc<sup>32</sup> it is said that the coronation of Tizoc as seventh *tlatoani* was preceded by a warlike campaign, undertaken after extensive preparations had been made, to procure captives for sacrifice, but that it was not attended with great success. Acosta intimates that the failure was due to either the cowardice or the poor generalship of Tizoc,<sup>33</sup> while other authorities relate that the campaign was not led by Tizoc but by Tezcucan kings.

The account of the ceremonies attending the coronation of Tizoc as *tlatoani* is recorded by Duran, whose description we quote:

The ceremonies and honors paid to the deceased King Axayacatl being finished, on the fourth day afterward they at once published the notice of the new election of Tlācōcatzin, who by another name was called Tlachitonatiuh, that is to say, the low sun; the election being reported and made known in Tezcucō and in Tacuba and the other provinces, at once without any delay they started to come to Mexico to pay their homage, and to render obedience as it was their custom to do under like circumstances. And so there came to Mexico the King of Tezcucō with all his principal lords, the King of Tacuba with his lords; and also those of Chalco, Xuchimilco with all the *chinampa*.<sup>34</sup> From Cuitlauac, Mizquic, Culhuacan, Mexicatzinco, and Itzapalapan. The Matlatzincas, Mazauaques, Coatlalpanecas, and all the lords of the hot country. All of these who came, kissed the hands of Tizoc and offered to him great presents and riches. Then they raised him to his rank of office in the following manner: The King elect being on his feet, the King of Tezcucō took a crown made of greenstones and all decorated with gold, and placed it on the King's head. He then pierced (*oradandole*) the cartilage of the nose and put through it a green emerald of the size of a thick writing quill,

and in the ears he put some round emeralds decorated with gold, and on the arms near the shoulders two bracelets of resplendent gold, and around the ankles some short hose (*calcetillas*) with jingle-bells (*caxcaueles*) of gold at the ends, and with his own hands shod his feet with shoes (sandals) made of tiger-skin, all decorated with gold and very handsome and fine to behold, and put on him a very costly mantle of *nequen*, called by them *pita*,<sup>35</sup> very thin and resplendent, all decorated with gold and painted with very fine pictures; and putting around him a belt of the same material, took him by the hand and led him to the throne called *cuauhic-palli*, or seat of the eagle, and for another name called seat of the tiger, and the reason was that it was ornamented with eagle-feathers and tiger-skins. And the other lords placed the throne on which he was seated, on their shoulders, and carried it to the upper part of the temple, and put it close to the statue of their god Viztilopochtli. And then they took in the hand a bone splinter (*espina*) of a tiger or a lion, decorated with gold, and pricked the ears, the thighs, and the fleshy part of the arms. This sacrifice being ended, they lifted (the throne) from the place and brought it before the stone of the sun, called *Cuauhxicalli*,<sup>36</sup> that is to say, the stone of the eagles, and there they again made the same manner of sacrifice (blood-offering), in the same places, and brought many quail and beheaded them with their hands over the stone, and threw the blood into the basin which was in the middle of the stone. Then they put an incense burner in the hand and incensed the four quarters of the world, that is to say, the east, west, north, and south. Then they brought him to the dormitory of the ancients, and entered into a dark chamber where they had the (idol of the) goddess Ciuacoatl, which they called *tlillan* (the chamber), that is to say, blackness; and there they again made (blood) sacrifices in the same manner and parts as before, and killed other quails before the goddess, and then incensed the dark room where they had all the statues of the gods brought together. This part (of the ceremony) being ended, they then went to the place called Yopico, where they had a god called Yopi, and there they again let blood from the ears, arms, and thighs, and killed quails, and incensed that place, and in this manner went to five places where were the principal gods, offering blood sacrifices, killed quails, and incensed the statues and apartments. The ceremonies being completed in these five stations, they carried the king to his house, where they placed him on his royal seat, and the King of Tezcuco, raising the royal insignia which had been given him, made the following speech:

"Very powerful and valorous young man, you have inherited the royal throne of very beautiful and rich plumage, and the room (filled with) precious stones left by the god Quetzalcoatli, and the great Topiltzin, and the marvelous and admirable Viztilopochtli, which has simply been lent to you, not forever, but only for a certain time. This seat has been left

distinguished and exalted by those valiant kings your ancestors, especially your grandfather of high and supreme memory, Montezuma, who, having had a long life, has left it, the throne, so much on the heights that until then had never been attained; by virtue of which, Lord, see to it that it, the glory, is not lessened nor thrown down during your time. Do not neglect this advice. Look to what you do; take into account the condition of the orphans, the widows, the old men and women who can no longer work, because they are the plumage, eyebrows, and eyelashes of Vitzilopochtli, especially the eagles and tigers, the valiant and valorous men who are the bulwark and defense of yourself and of your republic, and these promote the interests of your land by the shedding of their blood. And with this, valorous Lord, I bring my speech to a close."

Then the Lord of Tacuba made his speech, and so successively the lords of the other cities and provinces made their speeches. . . . And placing before him, the king, the same insignia as the other king (of Tezcuco), they ended their talks, and all went back to their lands, leaving the king on his throne.<sup>37</sup>

The account of the election of Tizoc and of the ceremonies connected with his coronation, as given by Tezozomoc, contains some details not found in the narrations of other chroniclers. We quote what he has to say on the subject:

Then messengers were sent to the cities of Aculhuacan, to the King Netzahualcoyotl, and to the King of Tacuba, Totoquihuaztli, indicating a certain day (designated for the ceremony). Learning through the message sent by the leading men of Mexico and their senate that Tizoczcic *chalchiuh tona*, meaning the emerald resplendent like sun, had been elected to be King, they responded that on the day set all would be in the Mexican empire, and thanked the senate for the advice and the consideration which they had given them. Then they gave the messengers food, and on their leaving presented them with gifts of handsome mantles, cloths, and gilded sandals. The same was done by the lord of the Tepanecas of Tacuba, Totoquihuaztli, who also said that on the day fixed he would be in the royal court of the new king Tizoczcic *chalchiuh tona*. On the day indicated the King Netzahualcoyotl, lord of Aculhuacan, came, and brought with him all the chief men and lords of the Aculhuacques. On arriving he greeted the senate with much reverence and many courteous words. He then went to visit the new King, and after saluting him made a long speech in praise and glory of Huitzilopochtli. He then opened up the great load of gifts which his men had brought on their shoulders, and gave them to the King. Among these (gifts) were a *xiuhhuitzolli*, that is, a short, loose, blue-colored cloak, which they put on him, and then they pierced the cartilage of his nose and put in a small,

slender, delicate piece of emerald. This done, they put in his ears some very shining, delicate ear-ornaments. Afterward they put a band on his shoulder, called *matemecatli*, and a *matzopetzilli*, that is like a grappler glove of steel, or gauntlet. Then they put around his ankles some bracelets like the wristbands of a shirt, called *yexitetuecuextli*. They then covered him with a mantle of blue *nequen*, decorated in the center with a golden sun, which was called *xiuhayatl*, and below or under this another rich mantle was placed. They also put on him his half miter of blue color in which was incrustated much mosaic-work, all of emeralds very beautifully placed and set in. Then he was seated on a royal platform covered with a great tiger-skin, with the eyes of some little mirrors, the mouth open showing very clean and white teeth, the claws appearing as if alive; also on the seat was a common tiger-skin which had been used, such as are today used by all the natives. At the right was a quiver with gilded darts, and a bow, signifying the justice which he was to preserve (during his reign). Then they carried him to make oration and sacrifice in the high temple of Huitzilopochtli. On arriving there, they gave him a very slender knife (*viznaga*), and he began to prick his ears, the *espinillas* (shins), and the fleshy part of the arms. He pricked his arms with a very sharp-pointed tiger bone, signifying that he should be strong and courageous. This sacrifice made, they went down to the place where was situated the *cuauhxicalli*, the brazier of stone, or hole of the devil, where they throw the human hearts, and there again he pricked his shins. This ended, he offered some decapitated quails, and with the blood of these birds made a sacrifice. Then he incensed the same with a censer in which was copal. After this he went below to another of his palaces called *tlilancalco*, the inside of which was all stained black, because it was a house of retreat and sadness. The site of this building is where is situated the present *casa de moneda* (treasury), for the last thirty-four years. He who took care of this house as his own was Zihuacoatl Tlacaeltzin. On arriving there they began to pierce their bodies and to draw blood, and cut off the heads of quails, and then to incense the royal hall that was there. They then soon went to another house called *yopico*, and the appropriate one began to pierce (his body) and cut off the heads of quails, and to incense the hall. Afterward they went to the house of Huitznahuac, house of the knives or prickers, and there they did the same (sacrifice). Thence they went to the margin of the lagoon of the great city of Mexico, and there performed the same (ceremonies or sacrifices). Then they went to the royal houses, where is now the (palace of the) Royal Audience, which was composed of a group of very large halls, although all of one story, like the halls of Tacuba and Tezcuco. On arriving here, the two kings, Netzahualcoyotl and Totoquihuatzli, who were the noblemen who were to create him King and give him the throne and imperial seat, saluted him with a long

speech in praise and exaltation as a good prince and lord, placing before him the necessity of increasing the Mexican empire, and to be very diligent in making frequent sacrifices to Tetzahuitl Huitzilopochtli. The Kings also made brief speeches.<sup>38</sup>

#### REIGN

Meanwhile, although Tizoc had been crowned *tlatoani* with much ceremony and sacrifice, as related, nevertheless, until he was anointed or consecrated in his office, he did not assume the duties of the throne, but remained in seclusion and fasting. Before the solemn act of anointment, it was necessary for Tizoc to secure captives from some foreign province for human sacrifice, this being the reason for undertaking a campaign of conquest before he assumed the scepter. Some authorities state that this enterprise took place before he was crowned, but the ceremonies of coronation and anointment appear to have been two quite distinct functions. In all events we follow Orozco y Berra, who drew his information from the relations of Duran and Tezozomoc, in placing the campaign during the period between the two ceremonial events.

After due preparation it was decided to wage war against the Metztitlan, an adjoining but independent Nahuan tribe who lived toward the northeast in the present State of Hidalgo. These people, according to their own accounts, never submitted to the rule of the Aztecs of the Valley of Mexico, but seem to have had some kind of federation with their neighbors to the north, the Huastecs, a people of an entirely different stock, being a linguistic branch of the Maya. Tizoc solicited the aid of the kings of Tezcuco and Tacuba in this enterprise, and departed with his soldiers and allies for the undertaking. Regarding this campaign we find the same contradictions and confusion of details as in the case of all the accounts of pre-Spanish Mexican history; but it is gleaned that the people of Metztitlan, with the aid of their Huastec allies, resisted the invasion of the Aztecs with such success that Tizoc was obliged to bring into action a squadron of youths of the age of eighteen to twenty, in order to offset the loss of about three hundred of his more seasoned soldiers. As a result of the battle he was able to secure only forty prisoners of war, consisting of people of Metztitlan and some Huastecs. Notwithstanding the apparent failure of the campaign, Tizoc was received on returning to his capital with all the honors of one who had achieved a triumph.

After a celebration of welcome, preparations were made for his consecration and anointment, the time being fixed for the day of the month under the Nahua sign of 1 *cipactli*. Tizoc participated in the religious ceremonies, then made the sacrifice of the forty prisoners, who were offered up to the god Huitzilopochtli, the slaughter taking place on the stone of the sun. These ceremonies, which were performed with the utmost splendor, lasted through many days, after which the visiting guests returned to their homes, filled with amazement at the luxury of the Mexicans.

It is related that in the same year (1481) Tizoc sallied forth to wage war against the province of Cuextlaxtla, which had rebelled against Aztec rule. In this he was again aided by his neighboring allies, and subjected the towns of Ahuilizapan, Tototlan, Oztotipac, and others of the gulf coast.

During the next year, 3 *tochtli* (1482), nothing is recorded concerning the affairs of Tizoc. The most important occurrence during his reign took place the following year, 4 *acatl* (1483), when Tizoc commenced to enlarge and to make more magnificent the great temple of Huitzilopochtli, which had already been augmented during the reign of Montezuma the Elder, as we have noted. Here again we find confusing and contradictory statements concerning the nature of this work. Orozco y Berra writes that the *teocalli* erected by Tizoc's ancestors was demolished and that an immense horde of laborers and artisans were employed to build the temple, which was preserved until the arrival of the Spaniards. In view of the fact that this temple was not a single structure but was composed of a great complex of buildings erected on an enormous substructure, and that the building operations were not completed until the year following the death of Tizoc, being finished by his successor, Ahuitzotl, in 1487, it seems evident that such an immense aggregation of edifices could not have been constructed during the brief period of four years. In the Codex Telleriano-Remensis we find the picture of a great pyramid (*teocalli*) with two grand flights of steps leading to the top, but without buildings on the summit. Although placed below the date for 1484, it seems to be associated with a caption beneath the glyph for the preceding year, which reads: "In this year the first stone was placed for the building of the great temple which the Christians found when they came to the land." In the same codex, under the glyph for the year 1487, when the work on the temple was completed and dedicated by Ahuitzotl,

is shown the same pyramid, but having two structures on the summit. As we possess no details of the extent of the labor involved in the temple building instituted by Tizoc and completed by Ahuitzotl, we may assume that the pictures in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis were designed to illustrate the erection of two new buildings on a single pyramid in the enlargement and elaboration of the great temple complex undertaken by Tizoc. We shall revert to this subject in describing the tablet commemorative of the successful accomplishment of this undertaking.

In the year 5 *tecpanl* (1484) there was an insurrection of the Matlatzinca, against whom Tizoc marched in person at the head of the allied kings. After a brief campaign the conqueror returned, bringing to Tenochtitlan a great number of prisoners, who were sacrificed in the great temple still under construction. The codices Telleriano-Remensis and Vaticano 3738 illustrate the temple, which bears the name of Tenochtitlan, without the upper chapels. At the left is the symbol of the prisoners offered during the festival; at the right appears one of those barbarous inventions of the priestly kings for solemn occasions, being a woman sacrificed by the blows of a club over a lake of blood, executed by Cihuacoatl, as may be inferred by the military insignia.

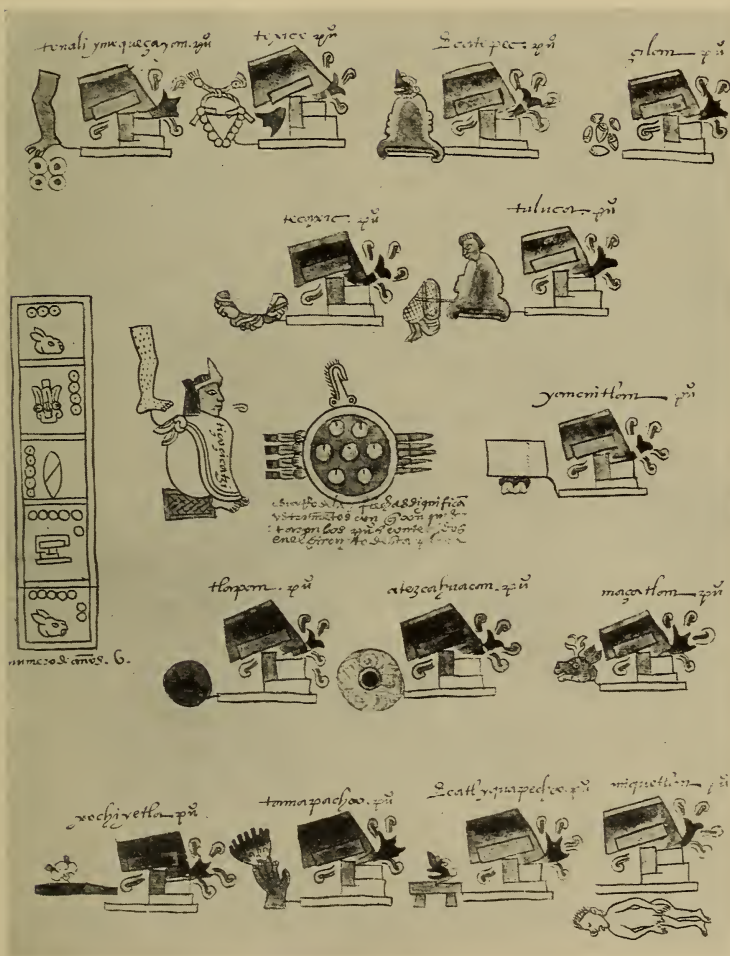
Nothing important enough to be mentioned has been recorded for the year 1485.

In the year 7 *tochtli* (1486) the Mexicans united with the Aculhua in invading the province of Nauhtlan, called by the Spaniards Almeria, which reached as far as the vicinity of Panuco, in the part occupied by the Totonaca. The army returned with great spoil and a considerable number of captives.

A little later the three covenanting kings marched against Chinautla, Coyolopan, Huaxtepec, Tlapa, Tochtla, and Amaxtlan, extending their march as far as some cities of the Tzapotecapan and Mixtecacapan. This campaign was one of the principal ones during Tizoc's reign, as it yielded abundant booty, and prisoners whose number is said to have reached a hundred thousand, a statement no doubt grossly exaggerated.

In two plates of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis appear certain events relating to the reign of Tizoc. A translation of the Spanish explanatory text is:

In the year 4 *acatl*, 1483 [1481], Axayaca died, and Ticoçic was elected lord. In this year the first stone was placed for the building of the great



TIZOC AND HIS CONQUESTS. (AFTER THE CODEX MENDOZA)



*cu* (temple) which the Spaniards found when they came to the land. In the year 5 *tecpanl*, 1484, the people of the town of Ccinacantepec (Tzinacantepec), who were subject to the Mexicans, rose in rebellion. The Mexicans marched against them and caused such ravage that hardly a man remained alive. They brought them to the *cu*, in Mexico, and sacrificed them on the top of the great *cu*, which was not yet finished at that time. All of the old people say that this was the first human sacrifice which took place in their country, and that up to that time they had sacrificed only animals and birds. This punishment and mortality, that is, sacrificing their enemies, was begun to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies, so that while they were subjugating the country, the people whom they conquered might fear to rise in revolt. In the year 7 *tochtli*, 1486, Ticoçic died and Ahuizotl was elected lord.<sup>39</sup>

Regarding the character of Tizoc and the qualities which fitted him to serve as *tlatoani* of Tenochtitlan and of the Mexican confederacy, there are various estimates and much disagreement among the early chroniclers concerning his abilities. The earliest and most trustworthy statement we find in the meager account recorded by the Codex Mendoza, which states:

In the year 1482, after the death and end of Axayacatzli, succeeded in the lordship of Mexico, Ticocicatzi, brother of the said Axayacatzli; and during the time of his reign he conquered and obtained by force of arms, fourteen towns according as they are successively figured.

The said Ticocicatzi was very valiant and warlike in arms, and before he succeeded to the lordship of Mexico he had performed dangerous feats of bravery in his own person in the wars, whereby he obtained the title of *tlalcatecatl*, which they esteemed for a title of great honor and estate; and it was a degree whereby, the lordship of Mexico being vacant, he who had the same degree and title succeeded in the place and dominion of Mexico, which title in like manner his predecessors, brothers, and father (and grandfather) had, whereby they came to be lords of Mexico.

Also the said Ticocicatzi, by the estate and authority of the said lordship of Mexico, had many wives and sons which he had by them, and he was a grave and severe man in commanding, and was feared and revered of his subjects; he was likewise inclined to good and virtuous things, and was good for his commonwealth. He commanded the laws and statutes to be kept and approved for good, that his predecessors had amplified and kept since the time of Gueguemoteccuma. And he was zealous in punishing and chastening the evil vices and offenses that his subjects committed. And the Mexican commonwealth was well ordered and governed during the time of his life, which was the space of five years, and at the end whereof he died and departed this present life.<sup>40</sup>

Acosta asserts that the Mexicans, discontented with having a king who was not active and warlike, sought to bring Tizoc's reign to a close by means of poison. Duran states that during Tizoc's tenure of the throne it was his custom to remain indoors, without showing any vigor in anything, instead of which he exhibited much pusillanimity and cowardice. Those of his court seeing that he did nothing for the welfare of the country, and not desirous of extending or aggrandizing the glory of Mexico, thought to aid the country by giving him a dose of poison, from which he died very young. Torquemada undertakes to refute these estimates, taking the stand, in defense of Tizoc, that the Mexicans would not have poisoned their king, because, although he was not active and valiant as his ancestors, the Mexicans tolerated him because they were ever desirous of honoring their lords and kings, and furthermore he had served as *tlalcatecatl* of the Mexican armies, that is, captain-general, having been given the office by his brother, the king Axayacatl.<sup>41</sup>

Clavigero believed that Tizoc "was a person of circumspect, serious character, and rigorous, like his predecessors and successors, in punishing delinquents. During his time the power and wealth of the crown had arrived to such a height that he undertook to construct a temple to the tutelary god of the nation, which was to have surpassed in grandeur and magnificence all the temples of that country. He had prepared a vast quantity of materials for that purpose, and had begun the structure when death interrupted his projects." <sup>42</sup>

Orozco y Berra also comes to the defense of Tizoc, believing that the derogatory judgments of the early chroniclers are inexact. He writes:

Tizoc reigned five years, during which time he fought against the people of Mextitlan and the Matlaltzinca. He invaded the provinces of Cotlaxtla, Ahuilizapan, Tochtla on the gulf coast. In the same region he fought against the people of Nauhtlan, and carried his arms as far as the Mixteca and the Tzapoteca. He took possession of Tlapa and other places toward the South sea. From this it appears that he was not a pusillanimous monarch nor cowardly, but a good fighter, of whom historians have not done justice, blinded by passions of the origin of which we are ignorant.<sup>43</sup>

Finally we may cite the opinion of Bancroft, who says of Tizoc:

He either lacked the vigor and skill in war which distinguished his predecessors, or like the Tezcucan monarchs believed he could best promote his nation's welfare by attention to peaceful arts. His former position as commander of the Mexican armies is opposed to the charge of cowardice.<sup>44</sup>

#### DEATH

In the year 7 *tochtli* (1486), Tizoc died. Sigüenza y Góngora and Vetancurt are the only authorities who fix the exact date, April 1. The consensus of opinions expressed by the early chroniclers is that the *tlatoani* died from the effects of poison or by magic spells. Clavigero recounts the circumstances of his death as follows:

Whilst Nezahualpilli continued to multiply his descendants, enjoying great peace and tranquillity in his kingdom, the death of the king of Mexico was plotted by some of his feudatory subjects. Techotlalla, lord of Iztapalapan, either in resentment of some affront he had received, or grown impatient of subordination to Tizoc, conceived the guilty purpose of attempting the king's life, but revealed it only to those whom he thought capable of putting it into execution. He and Maxtlaton, lord of Tlacho, agreed upon the manner in which they were to accomplish the dangerous deed. Historians are not of one opinion on this head. Some of them relate that they employed sorceresses, who, by means of their arts, took the life from him; but this is evidently a popular fable. Others affirm that they administered poison to him. Whichever was the mode of death, it is certain that their machinations were successful. . . . The Mexicans, well knowing that their king had not fallen by any natural death, sought revenge before they proceeded to a new election. They were so diligent in their inquiries and search that they soon detected the perpetrators of the act, and executed sentence upon them in the greater public place of the city of Mexico, in the presence of the two allied kings, and of all the Tezcucan and Mexican nobility.<sup>45</sup>

Orozco y Berra reached the conclusion that—

The version of Torquemada is the most admissible one. In resentment for what cause we are ignorant, Techotlalla, lord of Iztapalapan, went to Maxtlato, lord of Tlacho, asking for some of the sorceresses who were common in his states. Acceding to the request, the *bruja*s<sup>46</sup> came to Mexico, and during one of the times when Tizoc went out in public, they took the opportunity of practising their witchcraft. The monarch on the return reached his palace throwing out blood from his mouth, and from that cause he died in a few days. The case was not as secret as we might be led to believe, for the Mexicans took the necessary steps to discover the criminals.<sup>47</sup>

If Tizoc, as seems evident, died from the effects of poison administered through the machinations of his enemies, as Orozco y Berra suggests, it probably was accomplished during some public function. In this connection considerable light is thrown on the subject by Tezozomoc and Sahagun. The former gives an account of a festival "to celebrate the washing of the feet of Tizoc, when the captives of Meztitlan and the Huasteca were sacrificed."<sup>48</sup> He recounts that during the several days of singing and dancing, the old man Cihuacoatl ordered to be given to the guests some mountain mushrooms, called *cuauhnanacatl*, to eat. After some singing in a high-pitched voice, those who took part in the festivities were given to eat another kind of mushroom, called *teonanacatl*, or "drunken mushrooms." They were first moistened with honey. One might eat two or three, never more, for they injured the throat (probably the honey was added to obviate this effect). Partaking of these mushrooms soon produced visions, accompanied by heart palpitation, which soon led to an advanced state of intoxication. Sahagun describes the various classes of mushrooms known to the Mexicans, and mentions another variety, called *tochtetepo*, literally, wild rabbits, which were exceedingly poisonous. If placed in pulque or in water, even if taken out immediately, death resulted to those who drank the poisoned liquid. Sahagun further states that wizards or sorceresses produced bewitchment with fungi.<sup>49</sup> If the story regarding the manner of the death of Tizoc is correct, as we are inclined to believe, it is highly probable that he was given poison mushrooms soaked in honey to eat, or some drink in which they had been introduced.

#### FUNERAL CEREMONIES

According to custom, the funeral obsequies of Tizoc were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, following the same procedure observed when Axayacatl, his predecessor, was buried. These ceremonies have been described at length by various early writers, among whom Tezozomoc gives us the most detailed description. He begins by stating that "after the death of Tizoc and he had gone to be with Huitzilopochtli, on a day following they made a life-size wooden statue of the ruler as he had appeared in life, and after they had cremated the body, they sent ambassadors to various towns and places to the two kings Netzahualcoyotzin (Nezahualpilli), lord of Aculhuacan, and Totoquihuaztli, king of the Tecpanecas, to advise them of the premature death of Tizoc."

Tezozomoc adds that "after the two kings had wept over his sepulcher they made plans to adorn the statue of wood, and make a solemn interment, as befitted such a valiant king."

Tezozomoc writes about the funeral ceremonies as follows:

On the arrival of the two kings in the presence of Cihuacoatl Tlaca-eleltzin, and of the senate of Mexico, each made an oration, saying with tears before the statue and figure of the deceased king Tizoczc Chalchiuhtonac: "Today, illustrious senators, and lords, this empire is in obscurity, because of the decease of our beloved descendant, our king and lord Tizoc. He has now arrived in the presence of his ancestral fathers, the kings from whose house and lineage he had sprung, because the king Acamapich was his grandfather, his uncles were Huitzilhuatl, Chimalpopoca, Itzcoatl, Moctezuma, and Axayacatl. [This last king, however, was his younger brother.] These lords are (now) in Xiuhmoayan, in the place and residence about which nobody knows, in eternal oblivion, in the left part where there are neither streets nor alleys (*ynatlecalocan*, in *chicnauhmicltlan*), in the ninth hell; there he has looked on his father, the lord of hell (*mictlan teuctli ynitatzin yntzontemoc*), where quietly and peacefully he has gone to lie in repose in his bed with the sleep of oblivion." Having said these words, they began to weep over the body of Tizoc represented by the statue, and having ceased to weep and sigh (or groan), they commenced to dress, that is to say, to shroud the body (statue). They unfolded a very rich mantle, and little by little they wrapped around the statue a kind of loin-cloth (*maxtlatl*), very costly and beautifully worked; then they put on the half miter or forehead band, the crown of the king, and in the nose, which was perforated, was put a stone called *yacaxihuilitl*. This being ended by the King Netzahualcoyotl (Nezahualpilli), the king Totoquihuaztli proceeded in the same manner to dress (the statue). After this there entered the Chinampanecas, Culhuacan, Cuitlahuac, Mixquic, and Ayotzinco, and they brought together clothes like those of the others. And after these had finished, there came also to do honor to the deceased the native lords of Coatlanpanecas, Cuhuixco, who are now called of the hot lands, a part of the Marquisate (of Cortés) at the present time. Then came the Mazahuaques, mountaineers, Otomies. Afterward came those of Cuernavaca, Yauhtepec, Huaxtepec, Tepuztlan, Yacapichtlan. There also came those of Matlatzinco, Toluca, Calimayan, Tenantzinco, Teutenanco, Tzinacantepec, and Xocotitlan. All of the stranger lords having concluded their part in the ceremonies, they made a speech in praise and gratitude of the honors paid to the deceased king. Then came the principal lords, and with them the old Cihuacoatl. Then they put the crown on the head, and having disrobed the statue, the Mexicans began again to clothe it, first washing the body and the head of the statue with blue water. Then they put on

the braided hair with small tuft of plumes of the night-heron, and a kind of blue jacket, and a broad band over the shoulders, and decorating the face with variegated blue designs, and the blue jacket, and sandals gilded and ornamented with emeralds were put on, and in the (one) hand were placed sweet-scented flowers, and in the other hand a gilded perfumer. Then the singers came to sing, well adorned, with their faces dyed blue, and on the occiput they had painted or daubed some black betun called *ulli*. Then below they had attached a piece of native paper called *cuauhamatl*, which they called *cuexcochtechimal*, meaning a neck oval shield of leather. Then they gave roses and perfumers to all the singers. This done, and having sung before the statue, they began to take off the trappings, so as to put on the vestments of (the deity) called Quetzalcoatli. But before doing this they burned the *ulli* and from the smoke they tinted (the statue) a darker hue. In place of a crown they put on a garland called *oxelocompillin*, and a different kind of mantle called *nahualix*; then they put on some pendants or earrings (*colgaderos*), like those of a bishop, two palms long, which hung down from the head in front of the ears, which they called *chalchiuhpapan*, and on the wrists as well as around the ankles some blue bracelets. And they put in the hand a rod like a cane with crooked handle, called *coatopilli*, and a small gilded shield. Then the singers saluted and spoke (to the statue) as if it were alive, saying: "Lord, rise up and go to where is your father, the Lord of Hell, the place of eternal oblivion, where there are neither roads nor alleys, and where one knows not whether it is day or night. Where one is always at perpetual rest, where your mother—who is named *mictecan Zihuatl* awaits you. Go, Lord, and fill your place as king, and serve there your kindly ancestors." And for this they brought to the statue the beautiful birds, rich clothing, and precious jewels, which had belonged to the deceased. This done, they took in their arms the statue and they placed it close to the feet of the idol of Huitzilopochtli. When this was done the *tlamacazques* had already kindled a great fire, and they put the statue in the middle of the flames so that it was burned. The priests continued to feed the fire with wood until the statue was entirely consumed, only the ashes remaining. This ended, they brought some captives taken in the wars, and each one of the priests designated for this, called *mictlan teuctli*, that is to say, the Lord of Hell, who were painted black, with the face of a monstrous nature like that of the demon *mictlan teuctli*. On the knees, elbows, and behind the head they wore horrible and frightful-looking heads (masks), similar to those of demons, like those which one sees every day. These priests conducted one by one those who were to be sacrificed in the hollow of the stone *cuauhxicalli*, or shambles, or butcher's stone. This done, they painted one of the *tlamacazque* priests all blue color, and brought a large blue gourd (*jicara*) which contained scented water, called *acxoya atl*, that is to say, holy water, and they sprinkled the



TIZOC. (AFTER VARIOUS CODICES)



ashes where the body of the king Tizoc had been cremated. Then they sprinkled the kings, and afterward Cihuacoatl and all the members of the Mexican senate, and then they took the ashes and powder of the king and interred it at the very feet of their king and god Huitzilopochtli. This done, they dispersed until the time came to celebrate the final honors, occupying eighty days, and election and crowning of a new king. Then the two kings Netzahualcoyotzin (Nezahualpilli) and Totoquihuaztli were taken leave of, and all the other principal foreign subjects of the Mexican crown.<sup>50</sup>

So Tizoc passed from this life to the abode of his ancestors.

#### TIZOC DEPICTED IN THE CODICES

In the picture records or codices which record some phases of the aboriginal history of Mexico are found a number of representations of Tizoc in the parts devoted to the succession of the Aztec *tlatoani*. All of these codices containing such material, either painted or written, date from post-Spanish times, but most of them were doubtless made by native artists, and many may have been either copied or produced from memory from pre-Spanish sources on native paper.

The faces of the rulers are of course conventional and cannot be considered as portraits. Tizoc is shown in most cases seated on a native seat or throne, clothed in Mexican raiment, wearing the royal crown, and accompanied by his characteristic name glyphically represented by a wounded or bleeding leg.

Many attempts have been made to interpret the meaning of the name Tizoc in connection with the pictographic nature of the hieroglyph which invariably accompanies the representation of the king. Perhaps the study by Cecilio Robelo is the most satisfactory. In his brief paper on "Nombres de los Reyes de Mexico," this author summarizes the signification of the name as follows: "The hieroglyphs of Tizoc are all, in our humble conception, ideologic and symbolic. They signify the bled one, but without any phonetic element. The word is composed of *zoc.*, bled, the participle of *zo*, should bleed, and the prefix *ti*, with functions of the expletive particle in juxtaposition to nouns, adjectives, and past participles."

In pls. LVI and LVII are assembled various representations of Tizoc as depicted in these post-Columbian codices. Pl. LVI, *a*, reproduces the picture of this ruler from the well-known Codex Mendoza. The accompanying text devoted to Tizoc has already

been quoted in our account of the chieftain's reign. The *tlatoani* in this single instance is seated on a mere stool without a back.

The picture in *b* is from a fragment of genealogy of the Mexican princes or nobles, showing Itzcoatzin, Montezuma the Elder, and their descendants; it is in the Goupil collection of the National Library in Paris, and consists of a single sheet of European paper with text in both Nahuatl and Spanish. It is a copy from the seventeenth century, probably transcribed from a lost history of earlier date.<sup>51</sup> The names of the kings are preceded by the word *tlatohuani*, which means king, prince, or great lord.

The picture in *c* is from page 146 of Codex 1576 of the Aubin-Goupil collection in Paris, and formerly was a part of the Boturini collection. The picture of Tizoc has above the head the glyph-name of the lord, here shown as a leg with a large thorn rising vertically from the instep.<sup>52</sup>

Among the examples of Mexican codices in the State Library of Berlin is one (pl. LVI, *d*) that apparently is a modern copy, made in 1714, of a more ancient manuscript executed in 1539. It contains a number of colored pictures with text in Nahuatl, and on page 55 is found the picture of Tizoc here illustrated, with the caption "Ticicoc."<sup>53</sup>

In the Mapa de Tepechpan the year of the succession of Tizoc to the throne in 2 *calli* (1481) is correctly given, but an error was made by an early commentator who wrote under it the name Amaxaltzin instead of Tizoc, although the king represented above has the hieroglyph of the wounded leg (see *e*). An error of the painter of the codex places the death of Tizoc in the year 6 *calli* (1485), instead of 7 *tochtli* (1486).

In the painting representing the succession of Aztec kings contained in the Sahagun manuscript in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid (estampa XVIII, no. 6, to illustrate cap. III of the Nahuatl text), Tizoc is shown with the appropriate hieroglyph (see *f*) and with the long nose-ornament inserted horizontally. The accompanying text in Nahuatl, with translation, is:

*ticocicatzin*, lord Tizoc.

*ixiuhizon*, royal crown.

*ixiuhyacamiuh*, nose-ornament.

*ixiuhtilma*, robe.

*techilnavaya*, border of robe.

*ytepotzoicpal*, throne.<sup>54</sup>

In the Aztec manuscript of the Library of Berlin, called Codex Aubin, apparently a copy of the Codex of 1576 in Paris, on pages



TIZOC. (AFTER VARIOUS CODICES)



74-75 is the record of the years of Tizoc's reign, together with the picture shown in *g*. The Aztec text reads: "The seventh king Tizoc ascended to the throne. The temple of Huitzilopochtli was enlarged." This latter statement is placed opposite the year 3 *tochtli* (1482).<sup>55</sup>

On page 72 of the Paris example of the Codex of 1576, Tizoc is shown with the caption, "Forthwith Tizocicatzin mounted the throne, the seventh sovereign." This statement is placed opposite the year 1 *tecpanl* (1480), as in the Berlin copy.

In pl. LVII are five other representations of Tizoc. The picture in *a* is from the atlas in the Historia of Duran,<sup>56</sup> and *b* from the work of Tobar.<sup>57</sup> Fig. *e* of the plate is a representation of Tizoc, the body being in the form of a mummy, found in the Mapa de Tepechpan, in the record of his death, erroneously assigned to the year 1484.

All of the pictures of Tizoc thus far illustrated are accompanied with the well-known leg, recognized as the glyph for his name. In pl. LVII, *c*, *d*, however, we find Tizoc's glyph of an entirely different character. The first of these is from pl. XLVI of the Florentine codex of Sahagun, where are represented pictures of the different Aztec chief lords. I shall not attempt to identify the object represented, but a thorn is prominently displayed, and the inverted cordiform object exhibits the cuts or wounds seen on many of the portrayals on the heraldic wounded leg. Attached to the heart-like figure is a pendant identical with that shown in the Madrid codex of Sahagun, figured in our pl. LVI, *f*. Here, however, Sahagun has given the generally accepted glyph of the chief lord, the wounded leg. Again, for some unknown reason, a still different symbol of the name of Tizoc is produced on page 38, verso, of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis (*d*), where the object is easily recognized as the hieroglyph for *tell*, stone, penetrated by a thorn. This concludes the pictures of Tizoc shown in the codices.

#### TIZOC REPRESENTED IN SCULPTURE

Few sculptures which can be connected in an historical way with the commemoration of either the coronation or the death of an Aztec great lord have survived. The Chimalli stone near Cuernavaca, State of Morelos, bears the date 3 *calli*, 5 *ollin*, i.e., 1469, evidently referring to the accession of Axayacatl to the throne.<sup>58</sup> The two tablets formerly in the face of the pyramid of the Temple of Tepoztlan, in the same state, bear the date 10

*tochtli* (1502), and also the glyph of Ahuitzotl, unquestionably commemorating either the dedication of the temple during the reign of this king, or recording the date of his death, which occurred in February of that year.<sup>59</sup> Another sculptured stone, called *Piedra de los Gigantes*, near Escamela in the neighborhood of Orizaba, State of Vera Cruz, depicts a grotesque human figure, and the date 10 *tochtli*, 1 *cipactli*. This has been assumed by Brinton to be connected with the death of Ahuitzotl, which took place, as above noted, in the year 10 *tochtli* (1502).<sup>60</sup> Two sculptured representations of Tizoc are extant and will be described later.

#### GOLDEN STATUETTE OF TIZOC

We come now to a description of the splendid example of the goldsmith's art of the Aztecs, illustrated natural size in pls. LIV and LVIII, and in the drawing reproduced in fig. 6—a portrait of Tizoc which has led to the preparation of this memoir.



FIG. 6.—Golden statuette of Tizoc. Side view

In July, 1903, on the eve of the writer's return from a trip to Mexico to conclude some investigations at the ruins of Mitla, he was shown this beautiful statuette in the private collection of a friend who had purchased it a few days previously and who courteously presented four photographic views of the object in actual size. All that is known of the figurine is that it had been brought from Tezcuco to the City of Mexico by an Indian to sell. In an issue of *Modern Mexico*, Mexico, November, 1904, appeared an article entitled "Gold Relics of Old Mexico," from the correspondence of F. R. Guernsey in the *Boston Herald*, in which two rear views of the Tizoc statuette were reproduced, without comment further than a caption wrongly attributing it to the State of Guerrero. In preparing the work on *The Goldsmith's Art in Ancient Mexico*, published by the Museum in 1920, it was decided not to mention this



GOLDEN STATUETTE OF TIZOC, REAR VIEW



specimen, an opportunity to make a careful study of it not having been presented. It was ultimately obtained for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, by Mrs. Thea Heye, wife of the Director.

The statuette of Tizoc is beyond question the most beautiful example of the goldsmith's art of ancient Mexico that has thus far been found. Furthermore, it is doubtless a true portrait, the only one extant, of an Aztec *tlatoani*, or great lord. Its importance is enhanced by the occurrence of the monogram, or name-glyph of the lord, the wounded or bleeding leg, which appears on the back of the head (fig. 7, *a*). Below, on the back, is the date glyph, 2 *calli* (1481), confirming the year of the election and coronation of Tizoc as the seventh *tlatoani* (fig. 7, *b*).

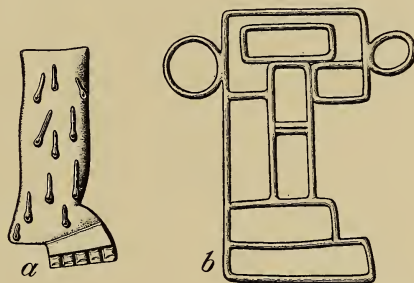


FIG. 7.—Glyphs on the back of the golden statuette of Tizoc

The core of the figure is a cylinder with rounded top, about which has been cast the portrait of the seated lord, wearing the royal crown from which rise plumes in filigree. The shape of the crown is not that depicted in the codices (pls. LVI, LVII), the half-miter referred to by the chroniclers, which has the triangular projection at the front. A decorated double headband is represented with feathers projecting upward, higher in front than at the rear. From in front of the ears and extending around the back of the head the regularly trimmed hair appears like a wig. The ear-ornaments, *nacochtli*, are simple and of rare form. In fact, this particular shape of ear-ornament is not figured by Peñafiel in his *Indumentaria*, in pl. 116 of which he illustrates the various types found in sculptures and codices. In the nose is placed the long, slender, cylindrical ornament, already mentioned in connection with the coronation and funeral rites of this lord as being of emerald and pertaining to the royal paraphernalia. The eyes appear as if closed, while the open mouth shows the upper teeth only, and a pointed ornament (labret) protrudes from the chin. Placed well down on the chest, and not represented as being around the neck, is a string of large round beads, ending in concentric discs. The arms and legs are adorned

respectively with studded bracelets and anklets. No textile garment is represented, unless we consider the openwork design in filigree on the back, which has somewhat the appearance of a mantle, the central figure of which is an outline, in characteristic Mexican style, of the house, *calli*, with two circles attached to the roof, expressing the date, in Aztec fashion, corresponding to the year 1481 (fig. 7, *b*). In the right hand of the figure is a baton-like

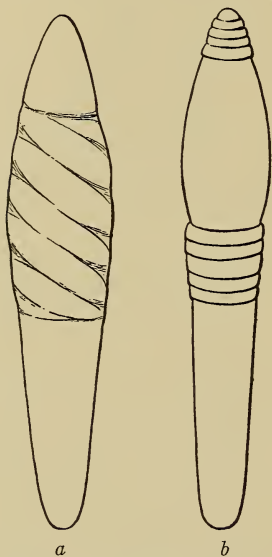


FIG. 8.—Bats of command

object of unusual type, enlarged in the drawing presented in fig. 8, *a*. In *b* of the same figure is an analogous specimen, a stone baton from Oaxaca, now in the collections of the Museum.<sup>61</sup>

The simplicity of the workmanship of the Tizoc statuette is noteworthy. It does not exhibit the exuberance of detail so characteristic of Mayan and Zapotecan art. In this respect it strikingly recalls the technique of many small Aztec figures of clay, which in most examples may be identified as representations of deities rather than as portraits of historic personages.

The statuette has an extreme height of  $3\frac{7}{16}$  inches, and measures at the base slightly more than an inch and a half in diameter from front to back. Owing to the precious character of the object, no analysis has been made to ascertain the

nature of the metal, but if we may judge from appearance, the gold of which it is composed probably exceeds twenty carats in fineness.

It seems to have been the custom of the ancient rulers of Mexico to have their portraits made in order that their memory might be the better preserved. It is known that Montezuma the Elder ordered that two statues be carved on the ledge at Chapultepec, one of himself and the other of his famous brother Tlacaélel, captain-general of the native army. An account of this is related at length by Duran, who, among other things, states that when Montezuma and Tlacaélel viewed the sculptures they were greatly pleased with the faithfulness of the portraits, and Montezuma recalled to his brother that "Quetzalcoatl and Topiltzin, when they

went (died), left their figures sculptured in wood and stone, which were adored by the common people, and we know that they were men like ourselves.”<sup>62</sup> José Fernando Ramírez, the editor of Duran’s *Historia*, notes that this desire of the king to be forever remembered by his portrait at Chapultepec “was not to be realized because of the ignorance and stupidity of an imprudent government which destroyed it. One distinguished antiquary, D. Antonio de León y Gama, says that the portrait of Montezuma was preserved until the year 1753 or 1754, when it was ordered to be effaced. It was carved in high relief on a rock at Chapultepec, facing the east. There is at present only the entirely mutilated remains, the figure as well as the date. Of this, the only thing to be clearly perceived is the character *ce acatl*, corresponding to the year 1467.”<sup>63</sup>

A more direct statement bearing on the portrait of Tizoc under consideration is found in the *Historia Chichimeca* of Ixtlilxochitl. In relating the story of the life of Nezahualcoyotl, who was king of the Aculhuas in Texcuco during the years 1431 to 1472, he writes that near the close of his reign “this very learned king ordered all the craftsmen that each one according to his craft should make a portrait of him, because in due time his descendants, knowing of his works and achievements, would wish to see and know about him; they complied with his wishes. *The goldsmiths made a statue of gold, true to life. The lapidaries made another of mosaic-work. The feather[-mosaic] workers in a picture drew and depicted his portrait in various feathers so natural that it appeared to be alive. Another picture was made by the painters, the best they could do. The sculptors made a statue in the same manner, and the architects of stone went to the forest of Tetzcotzingo and made (in the rock) that lion which we have referred to before. Even the smiths [sic] did the same. And so by his order they all presented the portraits that they had made, excepting that on the rock at Tetzcotzingo, which of course it was necessary to visit in order to see.*”<sup>64</sup>

In the light of these statements we may venture the opinion that the statuette of Tizoc presents as faithful an effigy of its subject as the artist could model; and taking into consideration the discovery of the figure in Tezcuco, we may assume that it was executed by the command of Tizoc himself and presented by him at the time of his coronation to the visiting ruler of Tezcuco, the youth Nezahualpilli, by whom it was taken to the capital of the Acolhuas and probably kept among the treasures of the Tezucan king during the remainder of his life.

At the time of the coronation of Tizoc in 1481, Nezahualpilli was not quite seventeen years of age, and such a gift would have been highly prized by the young man. He reigned over the Acolhuans for nearly forty-four years, dying in 1515 at the age of fifty-two. He inherited the virtues of his father Nezahualcoyotl, who also was in power for a long time—forty-one years. He was a patron of the arts, an astronomer, philosopher, and historian; he formulated a new legal code, improved the administration of justice, was inflexible in the infliction of severe penalties for derelictions, and increased the prestige of Tezcuco, making his capital a veritable Athens of ancient Mexico.

Where the golden statuette of Tizoc has been hidden during the last four centuries is a mystery. It certainly was not buried with Nezahualpilli, for we have a description by Ixtlilxochitl of the funeral ceremonies performed at his death. This author wrote that the body of the king was dressed in the royal vestments, with many jewels of gold, silver, and mosaic, and was then cremated. The ashes were placed in a coffer of gold and interred in a sepulcher in the great temple of Huitzilopochtli in Tezcuco.<sup>65</sup> When the Spaniards came, they sacked the city and razed the ancient edifices prior to the erection, on the same site, of the present Tezcuco, so that now only vestiges of ancient foundations of the great temples and palaces remain.

### THE STONE OF TIZOC

THE most important sculpture in Mexico, definitely known to be associated with Tizoc during his lifetime, is the so-called sacrificial stone, now better known as the Stone of Tizoc. It is a large cylindrical block of trachyte, exceeding eight feet in diameter by about two feet six inches high. This magnificent monument is one of the four most important sculptured remains of the Aztecs (pl. LIX, *b*). It was unearthed, December 17, 1791, in the great plaza near the western angle of the atrium of the cathedral, with other large sculptures, which were broken into pieces in order to get rid of them in the work of paving the area around this part of the edifice. It was at this time that the channel seen in the upper part of the sculpture may have been cut to facilitate the proposed cutting of the enormous block into paving stones. Before the workmen had a chance to proceed further in this work of destruction, however, it was fortunately discovered by the priest Dr.



*a*

A SECTION OF THE STONE OF TIZOC SHOWING THE IMAGE OF TIZOC IN THE CENTER



*b*

THE ENTIRE SCULPTURE

THE STONE OF TIZOC, THE SO-CALLED SACRIFICIAL STONE, IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF MEXICO



Juan Joseph Gamboa, who prevented further mutilation and ordered the removal of the relic to the southwest angle of the cathedral, where it remained until 1824, when it was transported to the patio of the building of the old university, now the National Museum of Mexico. The stone was subsequently placed in the great hall of monoliths, where it is now preserved. All the faces of the human figures carved on the side of the monument were more or less mutilated, probably during the period of the Spanish conquest, possibly by order of Cortés himself, before it had been tumbled from the summit of the temple preparatory to razing the structure and the erection of the present cathedral on its site.<sup>66</sup>

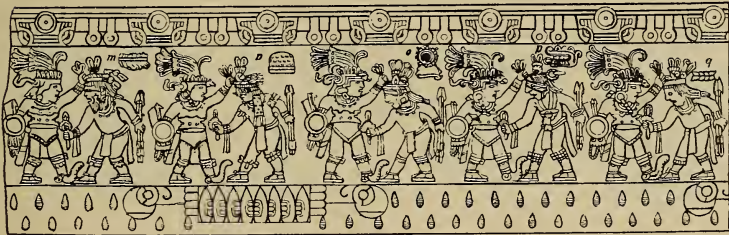
The place of discovery is of great historic interest, as it is proof that the stone had held a commanding position in the patio of the *teopantli* of the great *teocalli* of Huitzilopochtli in Tenochtitlan, which, at the time of the conquest was the largest and most important temple in Mexico. This votive stone was erected by Tizoc for the newly enlarged temple. It is believed by some to have been a memorial to the success of Mexican arms, under the protection of the great war-god Huitzilopochtli, and to record in glyphs the places which at that time were under the domination of that deity.

The entire upper surface of the Stone of Tizoc is carved to represent the sun disc, the sun-god Tonatiuh, identical in its outline with the solar disc on the well-known Calendar Stone, which came from the same temple compound. The cavity cut in the center of the sun disc and the deep groove extending therefrom to the periphery has given rise to much speculation and is the source of the myth that the sculpture was a *cuauhxicalli*, the term applied to a vessel designed to receive the hearts of victims sacrificed in important religious rites. The usual interpretation is that the stone was that on which the victims were slaughtered. Both of these conjectures appear to be untenable. In view of the circumstances connected with the discovery of the stone, together with the contemporary accounts of the destruction of other sculptures, there seems to be no doubt that the channel referred to represents the first attempt on the part of workmen in 1791 to cut the monolith into pieces to serve as paving stones. Indeed we have often seen ancient sculptures thus treated, the most recent example being two large slabs discovered not long ago at Santa Lucia Cozumahualpa, Guatemala, which have been partly split lengthwise;<sup>67</sup> while from another slab, now in Berlin, several small, regular blocks have been

removed.<sup>68</sup> The Tizoc Stone is altogether too massive to have permitted of breaking up by haphazard blows, but doubtless many smaller sculptures seen by the conquerors in the various temples of Mexico, which were destroyed to give place to Christian churches, were deliberately cut into blocks and used in the walls of these and other structures during the founding of the Spanish city on the site of the old Aztec capital. When we consider the avowed determination of the Spaniards to destroy all reminders of the old Indian civilization, it is almost a miracle that the Stone of Tizoc and the Calendar Stone should have escaped the destructive tools of the conquistadores. As it is, the Stone of Tizoc has suffered the mutilation referred to (pl. LIX). The bowl-shape depression in the center of the sun disc may have been made when the stone was carved, and was designed either for the reception of sacrifices or to serve for the burning of incense.

On the outer face of the Stone of Tizoc are fifteen groups of figures, each group representing a warrior grasping a captive by the forelock and in each instance portrayed in the guise of a deity, commonly recognized as Tezcatlipoca. But this sculpture was erected for the temple of Huitzilopochtli and in his honor, hence it seems strange to find Tizoc dressed in the paraphernalia representing his wizard brother Tezcatlipoca, whose characteristic feature was a missing foot, either replaced by his glyph in the form of a smoking mirror, or by the fire glyph as a symbol of war. In the Stone of Tizoc the left foot of each figure ends in two scroll-like objects like plumes, that may portray hummingbird feathers, to form the left foot of Huitzilopochtli, although we do not recall such attribute in any of the few representations of the god Tezcatlipoca in the codices.

The line of warriors on the Stone of Tizoc begins with a figure of Tizoc himself (pl. LIX, *a*, and fig. 9), commencing at a point directly across from the edge of the stone where the groove ends. Behind the head of the *tlatoani* is his glyph, the wounded leg. This principal personage of the procession of warriors is distinguished by a slightly more elaborate costume than that worn by each of the fourteen subchieftains. He has on his head what Peñafiel identifies as the *tlauhquecholtzonli*, the adornment or head-dress of the Red Tezcatlipoca.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, at the base of the head-dress may be seen a disc from which emerges a flame-like object—the smoking mirror always accompanying representations of this deity. In fig.



THE SCULPTURED HUMAN FIGURES ON THE STONE OF TIZOC



10 are shown four examples of the smoking-mirror emblem depicted in various codices, in which Tezcatlipoca is portrayed under various guises. On the breast Tizoc wears the attribute of another deity, a terraced breastplate, the particular sign of the fire-god Xiuhtecutli. This device is figured from the Codex Magliabecchiano in fig. 11.<sup>70</sup> In his right hand Tizoc carries a shield, darts, and an atlatl or spear-thrower, and with his left hand he grasps the forelock of the prisoner. Above the captive is a glyphic place-name indicating the subjection of the district of Matlatzinco in the Valley of Toluca. From the codices and chronicles we learn that this district was brought under subjection by Tizoc himself in 1484.

In pl. LX is a drawing of the entire line of warriors and captives, which conveys a good idea of the character of this important record.<sup>71</sup> Each of the chieftains wears a head-dress and the breastplate of the Fire god, but does not display the smoking-mirror emblem of Tezcatlipoca. In the right hand is borne the same class of arms as those of the chief lord. It will be observed that the costumes of the captives vary slightly, apparently indicating



FIG. 9.—Tizoc in the guise of a deity on the Stone of Tizoc

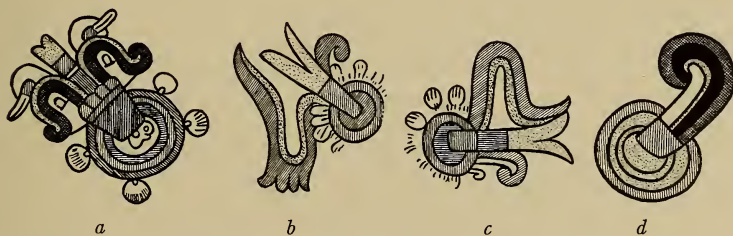


FIG. 10.—The smoking mirror, representative of the deity Tezcatlipoca

differences in local custom. In several of the figures the captives are arrayed in the garb of females, presenting the interesting possibility that some localities were ruled by women. Above the head of each captive is the glyph of the subjected town or district of which the prisoner was lord. In only four of the fifteen towns or

districts represented on the Tizoc stone do we find concordance with the fourteen towns recorded in the Codex Mendoza as



FIG. 11.—Breastplate  
worn by the deity  
Xiuhtecutli

conquered by Tizoc. The names of the fifteen have been interpreted by several students with varying degrees of accord. We quote the most extended and scholarly interpretation of the names, that of Dr. Peñafiel. They are lettered *b* to *q* in pl. LX (*b*).

*b.* Matlatzinco, the present Toluca. This has already been mentioned in connection with the personal conquest of Tizoc [page 30].

*c.* Tochtla, expressed by a rabbit, probably Tuxpan, in the Huasteca region of the present State of Vera Cruz.

*d.* Ahuilizapan, the well-known sign of the name of Orizaba, first conquered by Montezuma the Elder, and after a revolt against the Mexicans again brought under subjection by Tizoc.

*e.* Axocopan.

*f.* Colhuacan, near Lake Tezcoco.

*g.* Tenanco, or Tetenanco.

*h.* Xochimilco, in the Valley of Mexico, first conquered by Itzcoatl and later by Axayacatl. It was not one of the conquests of Tizoc.

*i.* Chalco, in the Valley of Mexico, conquered by Montezuma the Elder.

*j.* Tamapachco, the name of a Huastecan town.

*l.* Acolman, a town in the Valley of Mexico between Lake Tezcoco and Teotihuacan.

*m.* Tecaxic or Tetlaman, not clearly expressed; in all events it figures as one of the places subjected by Tizoc.

*n.* Tlaltelolco, a place forming a separate kingdom in the Valley of Mexico, conquered by Axayacatl. This place-name has also been interpreted as Yancuitlan.

*o.* Tonaltepec or Tonatiuhco, both places pertained to the monarchy, but were not conquered by Tizoc.

*p.* Tecamachalco, or perhaps Ehecatepec. The first place was subjected by Montezuma the Elder, the second by Tizoc.

*q.* Cuetlaxtlan, a province in the Huasteca, first conquered by Montezuma the Elder, and, after a revolt, again by Tizoc.<sup>72</sup>

In this list, according to Peñafiel, we may consider the seven towns lettered *b*, *c*, *d*, *j*, *m*, *p*, and *q* as having been conquered by Tizoc; the others pertained to earlier conquests by Mexican lords, proof that the Stone of Tizoc can in no sense be associated with that

overlord as a monument in commemoration of his successes in arms. Of the list of fourteen towns recorded in the Codex Mendoza as having been conquered by Tizoc, the four that can safely be identified with those on the Tizoc Stone are, *m*, *n*, *o*, and *p*. The list in the codex consists of Tonalimoquezayan, Toxico, Ecatepec, Zilan, Tecaxic, Tuluca, Yancuitlan, Tlapan, Atezcahuacan, Mazatlan, Xochiyetl, Tamapachco, Ecatlyquapechco, and Miquetlan. (See the hieroglyphs for the same on pl. LV, with the interpretation of the names written above each character.)

One other feature carved on the side of the monument is worthy of consideration. Broad sculptured bands surround the upper and lower margins, enframing the procession of warriors (pl. LX and fig. 12). These designs are found frequently in the codices and in

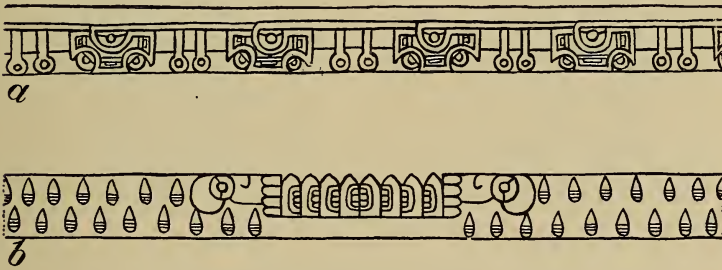


FIG. 12.—The celestial and terrestrial bands on the Stone of Tizoc

sculptures, and their meaning is definitely known. The upper band represents the heavens, the celestial region, the diurnal sky; the lower one is the terrestrial region, the earth, and the four areas each with eight flint knives with teeth seem to indicate the four cardinal entrances to the underworld, symbolically the night.

A word regarding the year in which the monument was made. In the Codex Telleriano-Remensis, which mistakenly gives the date of the accession of Tizoc to the throne as 1483, instead of 1481, the text explaining events during the year 1483 states, "In this year the first stone was placed in the *cue* (temple) which the Spaniards found when they came to the land." Under the sign for the next year, 1484, which follows, is represented the pyramid structure without buildings (fig. 13, *a*), undoubtedly the base for the temples the erection of which had been commenced the previous year. On the summit is the glyph *tel*, stone with the cactus above it, the combination representing the name of the city of Tenochtitlan. The text

accompanying this representation of a pyramid states that sacrifices were made this year "on the top of the great *cue*, which was not finished at that time," and such sacrifices of human victims are depicted in the painting. Under the sign for the year 1487, the year the temple was finished by Ahuitzotl, Tizoc's successor, is found a representation of the completed temple, a pyramid with two edifices on its summit (fig. 13, *b*), and the statement that in this year "they completed the great *cue* of Mexico." In connection

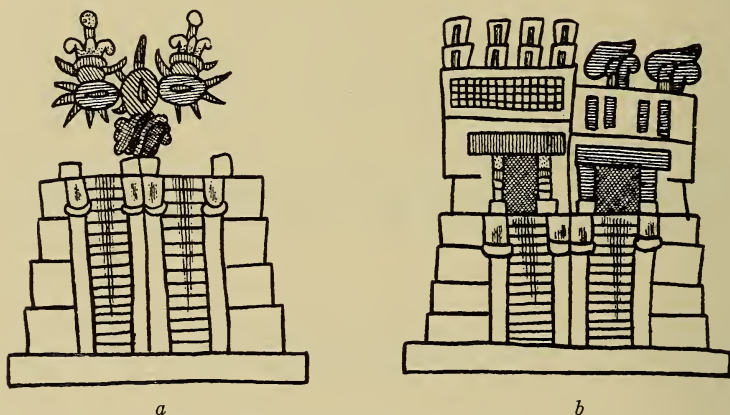


FIG. 13.—The temple of Huitzilopochli in Tenochtitlan. (After the Codex Telleriano-Remensis)

with the Stone of Tizoc we find on the page of the codex recording the years 1483 and 1484, a little above the text treating of the commencement of building operations on the temple, the words *piedra sagrada*, "sacred stone." They are written in a different hand from that of the rest of the manuscript, apparently added, as on other pages, by a scribe who examined the manuscript and made corrections and emendations. It is possible that the sacred stone referred to relates to the "first stone placed in the *cue*." This stone may have been the Stone of Tizoc which the *tlatoani* had caused to be sculptured and placed in the temple. If this conjecture is sound, and we believe that such an important sculpture would have been noted by the ancient scribes, then we have the date of its creation established as 1483.

# TABLET COMMEMORATIVE OF THE COMPLETION OF THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE

WE have referred several times to the great temple compound, that dominated the city of Tenochtitlan, on which the final work of enlargement was undertaken by Tizoc and was completed shortly after his death by Ahuitzotl.

A number of early writers render more or less information respecting the size of the great temple. In a recent note on the position and extent of the temple enclosure of Tenochtitlan, and the position, structure, and orientation of the *teocalli* of Huitzilopochtli, Maudslay has brought together statements of the most important authorities, and in the light of modern archeological discoveries in different portions of the site of the compound in the vicinity of the cathedral he has attempted to delimit the location of the *teocalli* and to indicate its juxtaposition to various groups of edifices that surrounded it.<sup>73</sup> It seems clearly evident that the temple completed in 1487 occupied the most commanding position on the summit of the substructure which constituted what was known as the great temple. There can be no doubt that the temple was composed in much the same manner as in the Main Structure of Copan,<sup>74</sup> the Temple or Great Palace of Palenque,<sup>75</sup> and the enormous complex of the temple of Comalcalco,<sup>76</sup> namely, as a gradually increasing aggregation of buildings. At Copan we find that the great structure ultimately contained more than twenty small buildings, with two main courts, the houses and towers being built on at least three different levels. The temple enclosure of Tenochtitlan was surrounded by a high masonry wall, and reconciling the measurements of the compound as given by various writers we find that it must have been fully one thousand feet square, somewhat larger than the Main Structure of Copan, but about the size of the temple group of Comalcalco. It was one of the two largest temples of ancient Middle America. Sahagun mentions seventy-eight buildings in connection with the great temple,<sup>77</sup> but, as Maudslay observed, it is almost certain that these were not all within the temple enclosure.

The structure begun by Tizoc and completed by Ahuitzotl was the culmination of the growth in size of the great compound. It was undoubtedly the pyramid dominating the whole group and was surmounted by two edifices. It was indeed what has been called the great *teocalli*. After a study and comparison of the various statements made by the old writers in regard to it, Maudslay came

to the conclusion that it measured about three hundred feet square at the base, being a solid quadrangular edifice in the form of a truncated stepped pyramid. It was probably about a hundred and fifty feet in height (if we consider that it was ascended by more than a hundred steps) from the elevated part of the great substructure upon which it was placed, and allowing for the height of the two houses on its summit. Moreover, to this we must add the height of the substructure platforms upon which the other numerous buildings of the thousand-foot-square compound had been erected.

Bernal Díaz, who was with Cortés at the time of his first entry into Tenochtitlan, gives an extended description of the great temple, which he called "the great cue." He accompanied Cortés, as he says, to the summit of the great pyramid at a time when Montezuma was making sacrifices to the gods.

We entered a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos [Huitzilopochtli], their god of war. It has a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with seed pearls stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows; and another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield, richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

Then we saw on the left hand there stood the other great image, the same height as Huichilobos, and it had a face like a bear and eyes that shone, made of their mirrors, which they call *tezcat*, and the body plastered with precious stones like that of Huichilobos, for they say that the two are brothers; and this Tezcatepuca [Tezcatlipoca] was the god of hell, and had charge of the souls of the Mexicans, and his body was girt with figures like little devils with snakes' tails.<sup>78</sup>

We have found that the correct date of the completion of the temple of Tenochtitlan was 1487, as recorded in several codices. Furthermore, confirmation of this event is carved in a sculptured greenstone tablet, of considerable esthetic merit, which is one of the precious relics of Aztec sculpture now preserved in the National



TABLET COMMEMORATIVE OF THE COMPLETION OF THE GREAT TEMPLE  
OF HUITZILOPOCHTLI IN TENOCHTITLAN.  
(NATIONAL MUSEUM OF MEXICO)



Museum of Mexico (pl. LXI). Unlike the Stone of Tizoc, which was erected during the reign of Tizoc, this tablet was not carved until after his death, for it pertains to the reign of his successor, Ahuitzotl; nevertheless, it throws some light on Tizoc and contains his portrait in the act of offering a blood sacrifice (fig. 14 and pl. LXI).

The lower two-thirds of the face of the sculpture is occupied by an enormous representation of the year sign *acatl*, with the numeral eight shown by eight dots. It therefore represents the year 8 *acatl* (1487). Above the enframed glyph is seen the terrestrial band similar to that on the Stone of Tizoc, upon which stand two human figures, that on the left being Tizoc with his accompanying name glyph, while the personage at the right is his successor, Ahuitzotl, also designated by his glyph, the animal called *ahuizotl*. Each lord is shown offering sacrifice by drawing blood from the ear with a pricking instrument, the blood falling into the opening in the earth band. In the center of the space between the two lords is a ceremonial object often depicted in the codices, identified by Mrs. Nuttall <sup>79</sup> as a grass cushion and by Dr. Seler <sup>80</sup> as a grass ball. We shall refer to this identification shortly. Hanging over it are leaves, perhaps those of the maguey plant, but suggested by Mrs. Nuttall to be laurel leaves. In it are inserted two pricking instruments identified respectively by Seler as agave-leaf spikes and by Mrs. Nuttall as bone awls.

In fig. 15 is a drawing of this ceremonial "cushion" taken from a page of the Codex Borbonicus, the section of the *tonalamatl* or divinatory calendar recording the eighteenth division of the calendar consisting of thirteen days. Under it is written the highly suggestive caption, "*arca del libro de la ley*," or "coffer of the book of the law." The book of the law could hardly have been other than the *tonalamatl*, for it was the foreordained book of destiny, the good or bad fortune connected with each day being indicated by the various symbols and deities painted on the pages, and nothing was undertaken by the Mexicans without consulting the priest to whom



FIG. 14.—Tizoc on the commemorative tablet

its import was known. The object as usually depicted, especially in the tablet under consideration, seems intended to represent a small chest or coffer covered with *petatl* (straw matting) to contain the sacred astrological codex or book, for the covering of "grass" is unquestionably plaited, indicating a woven material. Below the coffer are two incense burners, the *tlecuiltli*, or fire vessels, of a type often seen in the codices and found with frequency in the débris of ancient sites in the Valley of Mexico.

The sacrificial scene on the tablet, inasmuch as it relates to the dedication of the temple enlargement after the death of Tizoc, must be regarded as a true historical monument, and the figure of

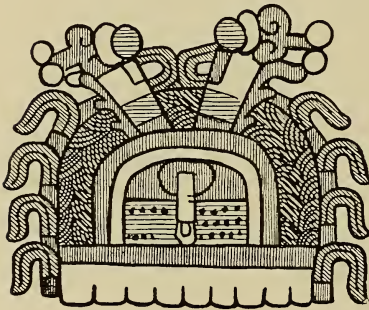


FIG. 15.—Feature of the upper part of the commemorative tablet as depicted in the Codex Borbonicus

this lord was placed here to commemorate his activities in the work, left unfinished during his life and completed the year following his death by his successor Ahuitzotl. As we have already stated from information gathered from the early chronicles, we know that the first efforts toward the extension of the temple was begun by the famous Montezuma the Elder in the year 7 *acatl* (1447). It is not with surprise therefore

that we find recorded on the stone, in the space just above the coffer, the date 7 *acatl*, which can refer only to the activity of Montezuma the Elder. Hence we may confidently regard the tablet as commemorative of the completion of the temple, and it was probably given some prominent place in the walls of the new structure in 1487.

In this connection we may call attention to the statements concerning the human sacrifices to the god Huitzilopochtli which took place during the year 1487 in connection with the dedication of the enlarged structure. From all accounts the number of victims who forfeited their lives for this deity must have been greater than on any previous occasion. The *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas* does not give any special number, simply recounting that "Ahuitzotl killed many people in consecrating it." In the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* the sacrifices are graphically painted and the

blood-stained steps of the twin edifices are shown. Below, the number of victims slaughtered is represented by the customary Nahuan number signs—two bags of cacao-seeds, each bag being the symbol for eight thousand, and the repetition of ten complete feathers, each one the sign for four hundred, hence the number aggregated twenty thousand. However, notwithstanding the fact that this number is accurately depicted, the accompanying Spanish text gives only the interpretation of the four thousand shown by the feathers, disregarding the two signs for sixteen thousand. The explanatory text reads:

In the year 8 *acatl*, cane, 1486, the great *cu* temple of Mexico was completed. The old people say that they sacrificed in that year four thousand men brought from the provinces which they had conquered in war. For every one of the little black branches which are above, is to be understood the number four hundred.

The estimates given by early writers appear to be grossly exaggerated, ranging from the number given above in the codex, up to one hundred thousand recorded by Ixtlilxochitl. Prescott expresses himself on this matter as follows:

The prisoners, who for some years had been reserved for the purpose, were drawn from all quarters to the capital. They were ranged in files, forming a procession nearly two miles long. The ceremony consumed two days, and seventy thousand captives are said to have perished at the shrine of this terrible deity. But who can believe that so numerous a body would have suffered themselves to be led unresistingly like sheep to the slaughter? Or how could their remains, too great for consumption in the ordinary ways, be disposed of, without breeding a pestilence in the capital? Yet the event was of recent date, and is unequivocally attested by the best informed historians. One fact may be considered certain. It was customary to preserve the skulls of the sacrificed, in buildings appropriated for the purpose. The companions of Cortés counted one hundred and thirty-six thousand in one of the edifices.<sup>81</sup>

It is certain, however, that several thousand victims were sacrificed at this dedication of the last unit of the great temple to be erected. We may rest assured, as Prescott pertinently puts it, that one "has to read but a little way to find out that the science of numbers, at least where the party was not an eyewitness, is anything but an exact science with these ancient chroniclers."

## THE OBSIDIAN TABLET INSCRIPTION

FINALLY, we shall consider another Aztec inscription apparently connected with the work under Tizoc on the great temple of Mexico. This highly interesting specimen (fig. 16) is a small tablet of polished obsidian,  $8\frac{1}{4}$  inches high, now preserved among the Mexican treasures in the Trocadero Museum, Paris. Hamy, who

has illustrated it, states that it was uncovered in Mexico about the year 1867 and that it passed through the hands of Boban and Pinart before it came into the possession of the Trocadero.<sup>82</sup> This is all that we know of its history. The main feature of the inscription is clear: it represents the date 4 *acatl*, which could occur only as the year 1431 or 1483 of the century preceding the conquest. As nothing noteworthy is recorded for the first date, while on the latter date we have the notice of the beginning of the enlargement of the great temple by

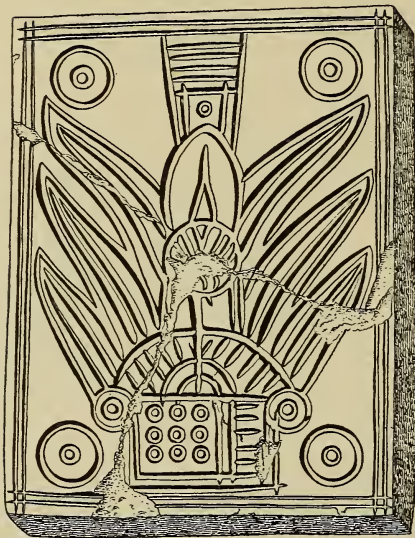


FIG. 16.—Tablet of obsidian

Tizoc, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the little tablet relates to this event.

Having thus established this date, Hamy undertook an explanation of the minor feature of the inscription, found on the lower part of the plant representing the *acatl* sign. This is a rectangular block with nine dots. Hamy believed that a banner (*panitl*) is depicted, the sign for *panquetzaliztli*, the fifteenth month of the Mexican calendar. Only three or four series representing the signs for the Aztec months are known, in all of which this month is shown by a banner sign. In the Codex Telleriano-Remensis the month *panquetzaliztli* is stated to "begin December first, the name being interpreted as the raising of banners, because in this month everyone puts over his house a little paper flag." In the same codex

follows the statement that "in this month the Mexicans make a feast to their first captain whom they worship as a god and was called Vitchilupuchtli." Following this statement, Hamy correlates the ninth day of the month *panquetzaliztli* with the day December 9, 1483, conjecturing that it commemorated the day on which Tizoc commenced work on the additions to the temple. This is eminently appropriate, for we find the explicit statement in Sahagun that "on the ninth day of this month they prepared with great ceremonies to begin to make human sacrifices in honor of the god." <sup>83</sup>

Lehmann <sup>84</sup> has questioned the accuracy of Hamy's interpretation, but we can see no valid reason to doubt its correctness. The only difficulty we encounter is the fixing of the exact day in December, for the beginning day of this month shifts, as recorded by various chroniclers. The Codex Telleriano-Remensis seems to have been written about 1562, and the beginning of the month under consideration is stated to be December 1. Sahagun, for the year 1560, fixes the day December 4, while in another study of the calendar he places the beginning as November 12. <sup>85</sup> Serna, writing nearly a century later, in 1656, places it as November 25. <sup>86</sup> Spinden, in his recent work on the Reduction of Mayan Dates, fixes the correlation in the Gregorian calendar for the year 1521, as November 29. <sup>87</sup> However, of this we are certain: the time was either later in November or early in December.

### CONCLUSION

WE have concluded our study of the material relating to the brief reign of Tizoc, seventh great lord of the Aztecs. Scanty as this material is, we have found more information—of a somewhat contradictory nature, it is true—than could have been gathered concerning the pre-Spanish life of the last Montezuma, who perished during the conquest. No sculptured stone records a representation of Montezuma in connection with his activities, and the gold statuette of Tizoc is unique as a portrait of an Aztec monarch. This image brings us into closer touch with the chief lord whom it portrays than anything transmitted to us in the writings of the old chroniclers. The fashioning of the effigy reveals a little touch of pardonable vanity on the part of Tizoc, which, together with the faithful depiction of his royal decorations and insignia, throws out in greater relief the portrait which we have here endeavored to bring before the student on the life of an Aztec chief lord.

## NOTES \*

1. A useful summary of the facts relating to the complex features of the problems of ancient Mexico will be found in the little book by Lehmann, *Methods and Results in Mexican Research*, Paris, 1909. Originally printed in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, VI, pp. 113-168, Berlin, 1907, it was translated from the German and printed in English at the expense of the Duc de Loubat.

2. Adolph F. Bandelier, *On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans*, p. 95.

3. This important relation was published by Icazbalceta in *Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, III, Mexico, 1891.

4. The Codex de 1576 was published in Paris in 1893. The figurative manuscript, accompanied with a Mexican text, is followed by a French translation made by J.-M.-A. Aubin.

5. The Map of Tepechpan was published in *Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, III, entrega II, Mexico, 1886.

6. An English translation of the original Spanish text accompanying the pictures in the famous Codex Mendoza is in the edition of Purchas His Pilgrimes, published in 1625, reprinted in Glasgow in 1906. Consult the present author's notes regarding the different publications of Purchas's work in his three volumes on ancient Mexican fine arts issued by the Museum.

7. *Anales del D. F. de San Anton Chimalpahin Quauhlehuanitzin*, sixième et sept relations 1258-1612, publiées et traduites sur le manuscrit original, par Rémi Siméon, xlv, 353 pp., Paris, 1889. *Bibl. linguistique américaine*, t. XII.

8. This important source of information regarding ancient Mexico forms part of a manuscript in the Icazbalceta library, Mexico, entitled *Libro de Oro*, published for the first time by its owner in *Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, II, 1882, and reprinted in *Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, III, 1891. A good translation into English was made by Henry Phillips, Jr., and published in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, XXI, Philadelphia, 1883, chaps. x to xx, and may also be consulted in Radin, *The Sources and the Authenticity of the History of the Ancient Mexicans*, *University of California Publ. in Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, XVII, no. 1, pp. 57-66, Berkeley, 1920.

9. The sixteenth-century work generally known as Codex Ramírez was published for the first time by José M. Vigil in his *Biblioteca Mexicana*, pp. 9-92, Mexico, 1881. The subtitle is *Relación del Origen de los Indios*

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\* For complete bibliographic titles, see the list of Works Consulted, at the close of this memoir.

que Habitan esta Nueva España. Segun sus Historias. The greater part of this relation has been translated by Radin, op. cit., pp. 67-123. Our quotation is from p. 81.

10. Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas, Radin transl., op. cit., p. 65.

11. In this connection we refer the reader to our studies relating to the fine arts of ancient Mexico, published by the Museum. Archeological confirmations of this statement were made in recent times and are noted in our monographs.

12. Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas, Radin transl., op. cit., p. 112.

13. Anales del Chimalpahin, Radin transl., op. cit., p. 127.

14. Codex Telleriano-Remensis, Manuscrit Mexicain, edited by E.-T. Hamy and published at the expense of the Duc de Loubat, Paris, 1899. p. 38v.

15. Ibid, p. 39.

16. Codex Ramírez, Radin transl., op. cit., pp. 81-82.

17. Op. cit., pp. 82 and 84.

18. This relation was published by Icazbalceta on pages 263-281 of the volume referred to in note 3. The first part of the long title is Relación de la Genealogía y Linaje de los Señores que han Señoreado esta Tierra de la Nueva España, despues que se Acuerdan haber Gentes en Estas Partes.

19. In this account of the successes of Axayacatl, Sahagun gives the names of fifteen "kingdoms and provinces" which he brought under subjection. In the lists of towns and provinces conquered by him, as given by other chroniclers and codices, we give here two in order to emphasize the lack of unanimity in the accounts on which we must rely for information regarding the lives of the Aztecan chiefs. In the Codex Mendoza appear the glyphs of thirty-six towns subjugated by Axayacatl, while in the Spanish text are given the names of thirty-seven, as follow: TLALTILULCO, *Atlapulco*, Xalatauhco, TLACOTEPEC, METEPEC, *Capuluac*, *Ocoyacac*, Quauhpanoayan, *Xochiacan*, TEOTENANCO, CALIYMAYAN, ZINACANTEPEC, Tulucan, *Xiquipilco*, *Tenançinco*, Tepeyacac, Tlaximaloyan, Oztoma, Xocotitlan, *Ocuilan*, Oztotipac, Matlatlan, Cuezcomatlyyacac, Tecalco, Cuetlaxtlan, Puxcauhtlan, Ahuilizapan, Tlaolan, Mixtlan, Cueçaloztoc, Tetzapotitlan, Miquiyetlan, Tamuoc, Tanpatel, Tuchpan, Tenextipac, and Quauhtlan.

In the Leyenda de los Soles, an anonymous relation written in the Nahu language in 1558, first published by Paso y Troncoso in 1903, only fourteen towns are listed. The manuscript however is incomplete. As recorded in the phonetic spelling adopted by Paso y Troncoso they are: TLATILOLKO, Matlatçinko, *Xikipilko*, TCINAKANTÉPEK, TLAKOTÉPEK, *Tenançinko*, *Xoxidākan*, TEUTENANKO, KALIMÁYAN, METÉPEK, *Okoyákak*,

*Kapolóak*, *Atlapolko* and *Kua[z]* (end of MS. lacking). Those in capital letters are found in the three different lists; those italicized are only in two of the lists. Some of these towns are still in existence.

20. Sahagun, *Historia General*, Mexico, 1829. This chapter is in tomo II, lib. VIII, cap. I, pp. 268-270. Another brief account of the succession of "kings" is that of Ixtlilxochitl. He was a descendant of the Acolhuan king of Texcoco, being great-grandson of the last king or lord of Texcoco, descending from the marriage of this king with Doña Beatriz Papantzin, daughter of Cuitlahuac, next to the last Aztec king. Ixtlilxochitl was born in 1568 and died in 1648. I give here his account, quoting from the edition of Alfredo Chavero, tomo I, pp. 447-451.

#### CONTINUATION OF THE ELEVENTH RELATION

##### *Branch and Descendency of the Lords of Mexico*

There is much variation in that which relates to the Lords of Mexico, because there are told so many fables and fictions that I am not surprised at this, that the same (stories) are found among the other Lords of this land, principally or especially when they treat of their origin and descendency; but that which surprises me the most is that those who know the least are the same descendants: because some say that the lords came with the Mexicans from New Mexico, others that they came from some foreign shores (*ultramár*), while others only know that they are descendants or grandchildren of Montezuma, without other reason, and if they know something it is summed up in the few years (passed) in this region, making of them persons with knowledge of what they do not understand. The true consistent opinion is in the ancient histories of this land, chiefly the *original* which I have in my possession, and the relations of the old people, as well Mexican as those of the Aculhuas and the Tepanecas, it is as I have stated, as will be found in the following résumé.

In the region of the great Chichimecatl Xolotl, after 47 years during which time he had governed his kingdom and seignories in this land, there came the Aculhua nations, and the principal and greatest Aculhua as I have said married his (Chichimecatl Xolotl's) daughter the mediocre, and was given the city of Azcaputzalco, and other places. From this lady he had three sons: first, Tetzotzomoc, who succeeded him and became the second king of Azcaputzalco. The second son Mixcohuatl, first lord of the Mexican Tlatelulcas. The third and last son Acamapichtli, first lord of Tenuchtitlan of Mexico, and fifth king of Culhuacan, because of the lack of a male issue to inherit the kingdom; hence from him (Chicomecatl) descended the others who afterward were kings, in the order which follows.

Acamapichtli, first lord of Mexico Tenuchtitlan, and fifth king of Culhuacan, grandson of the great lord Chichimecatl Xolotl, and younger son of the king Acolhua of Azcaputzalco, married Ilancueitl, daughter of Achitometl king of Culhuacan. He had from this marriage three sons who were: Huitzilhuitl, his successor to the throne; Chalchiuhtlanextzin, first lord of Coyohuacan; Xiuhatlanextzin, who died in battle.

The Mexicans came from Aztlan and went about many years in divers parts until they arrived in Chapultepec, which was in the year *ce toxtili*, at the time when

Tlotzin died, third great Chichimecatl *tecuhlli*, which according to the count of our era was in 1204. And they were 26 years without a lord, until the time when they resolved to ask one of the Aculhua king of Azcaputzalco (in whose land and marshes they lived), determined to take that step for the insurance of security and to prevent the many wars which they had had. And so he gave them his two sons, the *infantas*, Mixcohuatl to the Tlatelulcas, and Acamapichtli to the Tenuchas. This happened in the year *ce tecpatl*, which corresponds to our 1230. Acamapichtli governed 51 years and died in the year 13 *acatl*, which corresponds to our 1281.

Huitzilhuatl, second lord of Mexico and sixth lord of Culhuacan, married Tzihuatzin, his niece, daughter of Acolnahuacatl, lord of Tlacopan, and of his female cousin Tzihuac Xochitzin, daughter of the king Tetzotzomoc his uncle. He had by this marriage 8 sons, among whom these were notable: Chimalpopoca, his successor; Izcohuatl, successor of the above; Matlaltzihuatzin, mother of Nezahualcoyotl.

This monarch governed 87 years and died in the year 8 *calli*, a few months before the death of the great Techotlatzin, and it was in the year 1353.

Chimalpopoca, third lord of Mexico Tenuchtitlan and seventh king of Culhuacan, married Azta Xochitzin, daughter of Cuacuapitzahuac, lord of Culhuacan, lord of Tlatelulco, his second cousin, because his father was cousin of Cuacuapitzahuac, and his uncle. He had from this union 7 sons, the youngest of whom inherited the kingdom after Izcohuatl his uncle; he was called Moteczuma, first of this name, and also (called) Ilhuicatlaninatzin. He (Chimalpopoca) reigned 72 years, and died in the year 13 *acatl*, that is in our count, 1424, imprisoned and engaged by order of the great Maxtla, tyrannical monarch and king of Azcaputzalco, for a certain treason in which he had engaged against him.

Izcohuatl, fourth king of Mexico, and brother of the above, governed 14½ years and died in the year *ce calli*, 1441.

Up to here we follow the ancient history which I have in my possession.

Montezuma, first of this name, fifth king of Mexico, nephew and legitimate successor of the above, governed 27 years and 4 or 5 months, and died in the year 2 *tecpatl*, 1468. He had we do not know how many sons. He was succeeded in the kingdom by—

Axayaca, sixth king of Mexico. He governed 12 years, and had two legitimate sons, named Tlachahuepantzin, and Macuilmalinatzin, (both of whom) died in a war with Tlaxcala, despairingly, because neither of them had been called to be king. He also had the following sons: Huitzoltli; Moteczuma II, who became king of Mexico; Cuitlahuac, lord of Itzapalapan, who also became king of Mexico.

He died in the year 2 *calli*, 1481, his brother inheriting the kingdom.

Tizoc, seventh king of Mexico. He governed 4½ years, and died in the year 6 *calli*, 1485, his nephew inheriting his place.

Ahuizotl, eighth king of Mexico. He married the legitimate inheritor of Tlatelulco, and from her had Cuauhtemoc, last king of Mexico. He governed 19½ years, and died in the year 3 *calli*, 1505, from a wound in the head which he received when he wished to inundate Mexico with Acuecuezatli, and he was succeeded in the kingdom by—

Moteczuma II, ninth king of Mexico, who was found by the Spaniards. He governed 16½ years, and died in the year 3 *calli*, 1521, leaving many descendants.

The Spaniards say that he died from the effect of a stone thrown at him by his own people, and the natives say that Cortés and his people one night put a sword through him in the lower parts, and would not baptize him although he begged to be baptized. It is also said that he was baptized and named Don Juan.

Cuitlahuac, tenth king of Mexico and lord of Iztapalapan, brother of the above. He governed 40 days, because he soon died of smallpox, which he caught from a negro of Narvaez. Today there are living granddaughters who are the Señoras of Iztapalapan.

Cuahtemoc, eleventh king of Mexico. He was the one who defended the city, which he lost. He died in Acalan during the expedition to the Hibueras Honduras, being hung by order of Cortés, with other princes and lords of Texcuco, Mexico, and Tacuba, and other parts.

This is the true history, because all others are false and made up.

It will be observed that neither Sahagun nor Ixtlilxochitl makes any reference to towns conquered by Tizoc. This is directly opposed to what we find in the post-Spanish codices and in the relations of various chroniclers worthy of confidence. We quote from them later.

21. In fig. 5 I have added at the beginning the sign for the year 2 *calli*, house (1481), which in the system employed in this codex was on the preceding page, shown in connection with the reign and death of Axayacatl.

22. Vetancurt, tomo I, tratado II, cap. XVI, p. 315.

23. The *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, written in the Mexican language, was first published, with a partial translation into Spanish by several students, in *Anales del Museo Nacional*, Mexico, 1885. On p. 79 we find these entries for the years 1481-1486: "In 2 *calli*, Axayacatzin, lord of Tenochtitlan, died, and he was immediately succeeded by Tizocicatzin, in whose time there occurred a great eclipse of the sun. . . . In 4 *acatl* they commenced to build the temple or house of the devil Huitzilopochtli in Tenochtitlan. The lord Tizocicatzin reigning, and during this year those of Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] were destroyed by the people of Huexotzinco, scattered by way of Atlixco. . . . In 7 *tochtli* the lord Tizocicatzin died, and at once he was succeeded by Ahuitzotzin."

We add here a translation from another old manuscript in the Mexican language, published by Alfredo Chavero, with a Spanish translation by the Aztec scholar Chimalpopoca, in *Anales del Museo Nacional*, VII, Mexico, 1892. The title is *Anales Mexicanos, Mexico-Atcapotzalco, 1426-1589*. The chronology of the reign of Tizoc is as follows:

*Ome calli*, two house, 1481. In this year Axayaca died, and immediately Tizoc succeeded to the command and government.

*Yei tochtli*, three rabbit, 1482. In this year fell the temple which had been enlarged by Moteuhzoma and dedicated to Huitzilopochtli.

*Nahui acatl*, four reed, 1483.

*Macuilli tecpatl*, five flint, 1484. In this year the Mexicans completed one hundred and sixty years of occupancy of Tenochtitlan (1324), and it was the year

when those of Michoacan brought death to the Matlatzinca, and the Totomihuaque because they had entered there (invaded their land).

*Chicuacen calli*, six house, 1485.

*Chicome tochtli*, seven rabbit, 1486. In this year Tizoc died . . .

In the *Anales de Chimalpahin* we read: "The year 2 *calli*, 1481. Then Axayacatzin died. Immediately after his elder brother was installed as sovereign of Tenochtitlan."

24. Ixtlilxochitl (*Historia Chichimeca*, 269) writes:

According to the annals it seems that Tizotzicatzin reigned five years and some days, and in all this nothing worth consideration succeeded except the death of some lords and the succession of others, such as the death of Techotlatzin, second lord of Iztapalapan, in the year *ce tochtli*, 1482; and in the following year, 1483, when the people of Cuauhnahuac entered Atlixco against those of Huexotzinco, from which encounter they returned defeated, the greater number of the people being killed, because those of Huexotzinco very efficiently punished their hardihood. The following 1485, Quauhpopocatzin, lord of Coatlichan, died, and he was succeeded by Xaquintzin; he entered also into the seignory of Chimalhuacan Matlaquahuahuacatzin. In the year 1486, called *chicome tochtli*, the king Tizoc died.

25. The *Calmecac* was an establishment for the education of the youth of distinguished lineage. The word is not found in the dictionary of Molina, but is composed of *calli*, house, and *mecail*, cord, signifying "house of the genealogical line."

26. This of course refers to the custom of consulting the priests who had charge of the astrological calendrical books called *tonalamatl*. A number of them have come down to us, and their interpretation is fairly accurately known. Among these are the codices Telleriano-Remensis, Borbonicus, and Tonalamatl Aubin.

27. This account is in Sahagun, op. cit., II, lib. VIII, caps. XXX-XXXIV, pp. 318-322.

28. The work of Francisco López de Gómara was first issued in Zaragoza in 1553 under the title *Primera y Segunda Parte de la Historia General de las Indias con todo el Descubrimiento y Cosas Notables que han Acaecido desde que Ganaron ata el año 1551*. I quote here his account as translated for Purchas and published in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, III, pp. 1136-1137, London, 1625:

#### THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE AND THE CORONATION OF THE KING

Although one brother was heire to another among the Mexicans, and after their decease, did inherit the Sonne of the eldest Brother, yet they toke no possession of the state or name of King, untill they were annointed and crowned openly.

As soone as any King of Mexico deceased, and his Funerals ended, then were called to Parliament the Lord of Tezcuco and the Lord of Tlacopan, who were the chieftest estates, and then in order all other Noblemen, who owed any service to the Mexican Empire. And being come together; if doubt of the inheritance of the

Crowne happened, then the matter was decided with all haste: then the new King being knowne, he was stripped starke naked except a cloath to cover his privie parts, and in this sort was carried among them, to the great Temple of Vitzilopuchtli with great silence, and without any ioy or pleasure: Two Gentlemen of the Citie, whose office it was, led him up the staires of the Temple by the armes, and before him went the Princes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, without any others between them, who that day did weare their roabes of Coronation, whereupon was painted their armes and title. Verie few of the Laitie went up into the Chappels, but onely those that were appointed to attire the new King, and to serve in other Ceremonies, for all the residue stood upon the steps and below, to behold the Coronation. These Magistrates being above in the Chappel, came with great humility and reverence, kneeling downe upon their knees before the Idoll of Vitzilopuchtli, and touched the earth with one finger, and then kissed the same. Then came the high Priest cloathed in his pontifical vestments, with many others in his company, who did weare Surplices: and without speaking any word, they painted or colored the Kings person, with inke made for the purpose, as blacke as any coale. After this Ceremonie done, they blessed the annointed King, and sprinkled him foure times, with a certaine holy water, that was made at the time of consecration of the God, made of dowe or paste, with a sprinkle made of bowes of Cane leaues, Cedar, and Willow leaues. The they put upon his head, cloth painted with the bones and souls of dead men, and next they cloathed him with a blacke garment, and upon that another blew, and both were painted with the figures of dead mens souls and bones. The they put about his necke certaine laces, whereat did hang the armes of the Crowne. And behinde his back they did hang certain little bottels full of powders, by vertue whereof he was deliuered from pestilence and diseases, according to their opinion: yea, and thereby Witches, nor Witchcrafts could not hurt him, nor yet euill men deceive him. In fine, with those relicks he was sure from all perill and danger. Upon his left arme was bound a little bagge of Incense, and then brought unto him a chaffing-dish of imbers made of the barke of an Oke tree. The King arose, and with his owne hand threw of the same Incense, into the chaffing-dish, and with great reverence brought the same to the god Vitzilopuchtli, and after he had smoaked him therewith, he sat him downe, then came the high Priest and tooke his oath to maintaine the religion of the gods, to keepe also all the lawes and customes of his predecessours, to maintaine justice, and not to aggrauate any of his vassals or subjects, and that he should be valiant in the warres, that he should cause the Sunne to give his light, the clouds to yeelde raine, the rivers to runne, and the earth to bring forth all kindes of graine, fruites, and other needefull hearbs and trees. These and many other impossible things the new King did sweare to performe: and then he gave thanks to the high Priest, and commended himselfe to the gods, and to the lookers on, and they who brought him up in the same order, carrieth him downe againe. Then all the people cried, the Gods preseue the new King, and that he may raigne many years in health with all his people. But then some began to dance, others to play on their instruments, shewing outwardly their inward ioyes of heart. And before the King came to the foote of the steps, all the Noblemen came to yeelde their obedience, and in token of louing and faithfull subjects, they presented unto him Feathers, strings of snail-shells, Collars, and other Jewels of Gold and Silver, also Mantels painted with death, and bare him

company unto a great hall within the compasse of the Temple and there left him. The King sitteth downe under his cloathe of estate, called Tlacatecco, and in foure days departeth not out of the circuit of the Temple, the which hee spends in prayers, sacrifice and penance; he eates then but once a day, and although he ate meat, salt, and aji (chile pepper) and all food of a lord, he fasted Euery day he bathes himselfe, and againe in the night in a great pond of water, and then lets himselfe bloud in his eares, and offered incense to the god of water, called Tlaloc: he likewise offered incense to the other Idols, unto whom he offerth Bread, Flowers, Papers, and little Canes, died in the bloud of his owne tongue, nose, hands, and other parts of his body. After the foure dayes expired, then come all the Noblemen to beare him company to his Palace, with great triumph and pleasure of all the Citie, but after his consecration few or none dare looke him in the face. And now with the declaration of the Acts and Ceremonies that the Mexican Kings crowned, I shall not neede longer to rehearse of other Kings, for they all doe use the same order, sauing that other Princes goe not up to the top of the Temple, but abide at the foote of the steps to be crowned, and after their Coronation they come to Mexico for their confirmation, and then at their returne to their Countrey they made many feasts and banquets, not without drunkenness (nor without [feasting on] human flesh).

The last line, in parentheses, was not given in the Purchas translation.

29. Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chichimeca*, cap. XLVI, p. 230; also cap. LIV, pp. 259-260, where he gives this information concerning Tizoc. He writes:

With common consent Ticotzicatzin was elected seventh king of Mexico, and companion in the empire of the three heads, he was son of the deceased Tezozomoc, and grandson of Motecuhzomatzin, because Motecuhzomatzin had only one legitimate daughter from whom Tezozomoc had three sons, all of whom became kings, one after the other, Axayacatzin, Ticotzicatzin, of whom we are treating, and Ahuitzotzin, who succeeded him in the kingdom after his death. Tizoc was received and called to be king with the great solemnity and ceremonies of his ancestors; and in the dignity and office of governor and captain-general of the Mexican kingdom, his brother Ahuitzotzin was placed; and passing to tell of the sons of Axayacatl, I would say that Techotlalatzin, second lord of Ixtapalapan, son of Cuiclahuatzin, first of this name, married Izelcoatzin, daughter of the king Nezahualcoyoltzin . . .

In this connection we would note that Acosta, in his account of Tizoc, makes several mistakes which need correction. He writes that Tizoc was a son of the deceased king whom he succeeded. He says that Axayacatl succeeded Tizoc. As a matter of fact the reverse is true, and Tizoc was a brother of Axayacatl.

30. Regarding Cuauhtemoc, see the statement of Ixtlilxochitl near the end of note 20.

31. Duran, tomo I, caps. XXXIX-XLI, pp. 302-321, are devoted to Tizoc.

32. For the work of Tezozomoc, see the Works Consulted, p. 77.

33. Acosta, vol. II, chap. XVII, pp. 491-493.

34. The Mexican word *chinampa*, literally, *chinamilt*, fence, *pa*,

postposition. Its meaning is "floating raft," referring to the famous floating gardens of the lakes of the Valley of Mexico, which still exist in the lagoons near Xochimilco, not far from the City of Mexico. In this connection we assume it to mean the common people who lived near the towns referred to, who accompanied their lords.

35. This mantle was woven from the fiber of a species of maguey called *metl*, so common in the highlands of Mexico.

36. Literally, *quauhxicalli* means a tray or trough or similar utensil of wood, but the stone here referred to was a kind of bowl, used, as stated, for blood offerings. Some of these vessels were of enormous size, but the three specimens extant are small and beautifully carved. The example in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, the gift of Mrs. Heye, wife of the Director, will be the subject of a later study by the writer.

37. Duran, I, cap. XXXIX, pp. 309-311.

38. Tezozomoc, cap. LVI, pp. 438-439.

39. Codex Telleriano-Remensis, pp. 38v-39r.

40. Codex Mendoza, pp. 431-432.

41. Torquemada, one of the sixteenth-century group of writers, is a highly valuable source of information concerning ancient Mexican history. He treats of the reign of Tizoc in tomo I, lib. II, caps. LIX-LXII, pp. 180-185, Madrid ed., 1723.

42. Although Clavigero is an eighteenth-century authority, his work is still of considerable value. I use the English translation of Cullen. See vol. I, book IV, sec. XXI, p. 200.

43. Orozco y Berra, III, p. 374.

44. Bancroft, v, p. 437.

45. Clavigero, I, book IV, secs. XXI, XXII, pp. 199-200.

46. The terms *bruja* and *brujo* were applied respectively to witches and wizards, or those who practised sorcery. The subject has been exhaustively treated by Brinton in his interesting monograph, *Nagualism, A Study of Native American Folk-lore and History*, Philadelphia, 1894.

47. Orozco y Berra, III, p. 375.

48. Tezozomoc, cap. LIX, pp. 449-453. In contradiction to this assertion that the people of Meztitlan province furnished captives for this sacrifice, we read in the *Relation of Meztitlan*, written by Gabriel de Chávez in 1579, that in pre-Spanish times the people of this region were never defeated in war, being always an independent kingdom, and never subject to Montezuma or to other rulers.

49. Sahagun, III, lib. X, cap. VII, p. 242. In the work of Motolinia, trat. I, cap. II, p. 25, is the following on the subject of intoxication produced by eating these fungi:

Tenian otra manera de embriaguez que los hacia mas crueles: era con unos hongos ó setas pequeñas, que en esta tierra los hay como en Castilla; mas los de esta

tierra son de tal calidad, que comidos crudos y por ser amargos, beben tras ellos ó comen con ellos un poco de abejas; y de allí á poco rato veían mil visiones, en especial culebras, y como salían fuera de todo sentido, parecían que las piernas y el cuerpo tenían llenos de gusanos que los comían vivos, y así medio rabiando se salían fuera de casa, deseando que alguno los matase; y con esta bestial embriaguez y trabajo que sentían, acontecía alguna vez ahorcarse, y también eran contra los otros las crueles. A estos hongos llaman en su lengua Teonanacatl, que quiere decir carne de dios, ó del demonio que ellos adoraban: y de la dicha manera con aquel amargo manjar su Dios los comulgaba.

50. Tezozomoc, cap. LX, pp. 454-455.

51. Boban, II, no. 72, pp. 151-155; atlas, pl. 72.

52. This codex has been published in Paris in at least two editions; first, without date, by Aubin, and again by Goupil in 1893.

53. This codex was published by Peñafiel in *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Mexico, 1897.

54. The hieroglyph of Tizoc as painted for Sahagun shows an added element depending from the heel, to which attention is drawn in describing the variant given by Sahagun, illustrated in our pl. LVII, c.

55. Published by Peñafiel in *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, cuaderno IV, Mexico, 1902. The placing of Tizoc opposite the date 1480 in this codex is of course an error, although the sequence of events is correct. It indicates carelessness on the part of the painter and scribe in placing the figure of the king one block ahead of the actual glyphic date.

56. Duran, atlas, tratado I, lám. 13, cap. 39.

57. The plate is XIII, opp. p. 176. I follow Icazbalceta, Bandelier, and José Fernando Ramírez in attributing this to Tobar.

An idealized portrait of Tizoc, redrawn from some Mexican codex now unknown, is found in the work of Gemelli Careri. He was in Mexico in 1697, and obtained copies of several painted records from Sigüenza y Góngora (1645-1700), the well-known Mexican scholar.

58. This important sculptured boulder, in the vicinity of Cuernavaca, was discovered by Dupaix in 1805, on the Première expédition de Mexico a Xochicalco. Both sides are illustrated in pls. XXVIII and XXIX of *Antiquités Méxicaines*, Paris, 1834. While the lithographs are accurate in the delineation of the details of the sculpture, the drawings from photographs are to be preferred, as published by Seler in his *Die Ruinen von Xochicalco*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xx Verhandlungen, Berlin, 1888, reprinted in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde*, Berlin, 1904. Seler interprets the date for the first time.

59. The Temple of Tepoztlan and the tablets here mentioned were first made known by the writer in his *The Temple of Tepoztlan*, Mexico, *Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, VIII, art. XI, New York, 1896.

60. This sculptured boulder near Orizaba was discovered by Dupaix in 1805 and is illustrated in pl. IV of the publication referred to in note 58. Brinton published a drawing from a photograph with an interpretative description of the date in a paper on the Stone of the Giants, in his *Essays of an Americanist*, Philadelphia, 1890. In this study Brinton presents the first interpretation of the date.

61. This stone baton has been described and illustrated by the writer in *Indian Notes*, I, pp. 162-163, New York, 1924.

62. Duran, I, cap. XXXI, pp. 249-251.

63. Duran, *ibid.*, p. 251, note. Bandelier (Report of an Archaeological Tour, pp. 75-76, 1881) noted this sculpture in the vicinity of Chapultepec. He writes:

It was used to some extent as a burial-place, and a few of the leading chieftains of Mexico had their effigies carved in specially fitted nooks and recesses. At the close of the last century two of these effigies were still in existence; but when I inquired about them at the City of Mexico I was assured that they had completely disappeared. Nevertheless I found on March 6, 1881, what clearly appears to be the remainder of the effigy of Ahuitzotl, the last Montezuma's predecessor in the office of chief commander of the Nahuatl Confederacy. It was carved in half-relief, and was originally a full-length figure of a man, life-size, stretched out on a ledge of natural rock sloping at an inclination of nearly fifty-five degrees. Only the lower limbs are preserved. The top and whole body have evidently been blown off; nothing remains of them but three fragments. The feet also are mutilated; they appear to have stood on an imperfectly carved moulding. But the principal features of the monument are the figure *2d acatl*, or "cane" (still visible to the right of what was once the head), and beneath it the picture of a water-rat. Both are sufficiently distinct. The former is a date, and corresponds to 1507 of our era; the latter is a name, and reads "Ahuitzotl" in the native Mexican language.

Bandelier calls attention to the error in the date, for, as has been said, Ahuitzotl died in 1502. We believe that there either was formerly, or the sculptor inadvertently omitted, a third dot, which would make the date 3 *acatl* (1494), which occurred during the middle of the reign of Ahuitzotl. At the same time it seems probable that the glyph of Ahuitzotl does not belong to the date, which is recorded by Ramírez as 1 *acatl* (1467), although Bandelier thought he saw two dots, 1507. At all events the mutilated condition of the sculptures makes it impossible to be certain of more than the existence of the portraits of late Aztec kings.

64. Ixtlilxochitl, II, cap. XLVII, p. 237. The remains at Tetzcotzingo can still be seen, and some of the rock carvings still exist, although somewhat mutilated. The site still awaits careful investigation. Two brief illustrated papers have recently been published: the first, "Tezcoztzinco," by Otto Niekler (in German), in *El Mexico Antiguo*, I, núm. 5, Dic. 1919; and "Huexotla y Texcotzingo," by Roque J. Ceballos Novelo,

in *Estado Actual de los Principales Edificios de Mexico*, pp. 77-79, Mexico, 1928.

65. Ixtlilxochitl, cap. LXXV, p. 328.

66. This famous stone has been the subject of many studies too numerous to list here. The most scholarly work is that of Dr. Antonio Peñafiel, *Destrucción del Templo Mayor de Mexico Antiguo*, published under the auspices of the Secretaria de Fomento, Mexico, 1910. I am indebted to this monograph for much of the material on the subject of this important sculpture.

67. These slabs are now in the City of Guatemala.

68. This slab was first illustrated by S. Habel in his pl. iv.

69. Peñafiel, p. 29. The different aspects of Tezcatlipoca have been exhaustively treated by Dr. Seler in the various elucidations of the Mexican codices published by him under the patronage of the Duc de Loubat.

70. The breastplates of the figures of all the principal personages on the Stone of Tizoc pertain to the fire god Xiuhtecutli or Ixcocauhqui. He is shown with this emblem in the Codex Borbonicus as one of the deities connected with the tonalamatl on the ninth and twentieth pages, that is, as one of the gods related to the good or bad fortune of the ninth and twentieth "weeks" of the astrological calendar. This deity is found also in the corresponding positions in the Tonalamatl Aubin. The device given in fig. 11 (from the Codex Magliabecchiano, p. 46, recto) has the caption, "Izcali, fourth day of February, the last festival of the year according to the count of the Indians; it lasts twenty-five days; it is the day of San Gilberti the confessor." On the opposite page (45v.) is this explanation of the festival celebrated in his honor: "This festival has twenty-five days according to the count of the Indians celebrating the day of San Gilberti the confessor. This demon, to whom this festival is given in memory, is called *xuc teculli*; in it they sacrifice two Indians who are called *ixcocaque*, and the other *comulco*, and they make a great drunken feast in their *areitos* or dances. This feast they call *yzcalli*, the accent on the penultimate syllable; it falls on the fourth day of February; in this festival no persons are allowed to eat more than kneaded wild amaranth and bread; but this was in Mexico." According to Sahagun, Ixcocauhqui or Xiuhtecutl was also the old god Ueueteotl, the "old light," and fire god, father of the gods and of mankind.

In the description of the festival to the god of fire during the eighteenth month of the Mexican yearly calendar, called *Ycalli*, we find in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis (p. 6 verso) the painting representing the god with the stepped breastplate with two perforations. In the same codex, in the painting of the fourteenth month, *Quecholli*, dedicated to the god Camaxtli, "snake of the clouds," also called Tezcatlipoca, we find the deity represented with the same breastplate.

71. This plate is from Peñafiel.

72. Peñafiel, pp. 31-32. In this list it will be noted that the letter *k* is omitted in the sequence by Peñafiel. He describes the procession of warriors and captives on the stone as follows:

Behind the principal person, who may be recognized by a more elaborate garb, is a leg expressing the name of the king Tizoc; above the prisoners is a place-name indicating their origin; fifteen are the number of the towns whose signs are for the greater part known; but they are not in accord with the principal explanation which has been assigned to the stone, in considering it as a monument commemorating the conquests of Tizoc. The fifteen eagle warriors, or Cuauhtin, each one of whom has a prisoner held by a lock of hair, are dressed in the garb of the god Tezcatlipoca; the king wears the *tlauhquecholtzontli*, the adornment or crown of the red Tezcatlipoca; on the breast is a rectangular plate or badge, with steps or grècques, the particular sign of Xihutecutli, god of fire; in the right hand he holds a shield, darts, and a banner; with the left hand he conducts the prisoner to the sacrifice. The left foot of the king and of the warriors is found with the distinctive feature of Tezcatlipoca.

Finally Peñafiel suggests that "the Stone of Tizoc is a votive monument dedicated to the sun and to the god of fire, Huehueteotl; the figures carved on the band around the stone represent the sacred dance that preceded the sacrifices; the cult of the sun and of fire are personified on the same monument."

73. Maudslay. See entry under the Works Consulted, p. 75.

74. The plans and photographs of the Main Structure of Copan may best be consulted in the work of Morley.

75. The Temple or Great Palace of Palenque may be studied in the plan and panorama prepared by Holmes.

76. The great ruins of Comalcalco have not yet received the attention this great Mayan site deserves. First made known by Charnay, they have lately been visited by Blom, who made some important excavations and published a report thereon in 1926.

77. Sahagun, I, lib. II, app. pp. 197-211.

78. Díaz del Castillo, II, chap. xcii, pp. 69-83.

79. Zelia Nuttall, A Penitential Rite of the Ancient Mexicans, *Archaeol. and Ethnol. Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University*, I, no. 7, Cambridge, 1904. This is one of the most important of the many studies in Mexican archeology which we have from the pen of Mrs. Nuttall. It describes and illustrates (pls. III-V) a marvelous carved stone box of the Aztecs, now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and refers (pp. 15-16) to this object on the commemorative tablet.

80. In his study of the Tonalamatl Aubin, Seler treats at length the contents of the eighteenth page, which relates to the eighteenth week of the tonalamatl. Among the objects depicted is one similar to that on

the stone we are describing. He refers (pp. 117-118) to it as "a great ball, *cacatapayolli*, with two blood-stained agave-leaf spikes, *uitztli*; in the Codex Borbonicus the same *cacatapayolli*, executed in finer or more heraldic style, besides which the interpreter has written the words: 'arca del libro de la ley' (!)."

81. Prescott, I, book I, chap. III, in the section on human sacrifices.

82. E.-T. Hamy. See entry under the Works Consulted, p. 75.

83. Sahagun, I, lib. II, cap. XV, p. 71.

84. Lehmann, Methods and Results, p. 15.

85. The original manuscript of this important study of the Mexican calendar is in a collection containing among other pieces the famous *Cantares Mexicanos*. It remained unedited in its entirety until 1918, when, under the title *Calendario Mexicano atribuido a Fray Bernardino de Sahagun*, it was published by J. B. Iguiniz in the *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico*, XII, núm. 5, April-Sept., pp. 189-226, 11 pl.

86. Jacinto de la Serna, p. 325.

87. Spinden, *The Reduction of Mayan Dates*, p. 103.

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